Vol. II] FEBRUARY—MAY 1945 [Parts 2—3

THE JOURNAL OF THE GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE



ALLAHABAD

Vol. II] FEBRUARY—MAY 1945 [Parts 2—3

THE JOURNAL OF THE GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE



ALLAHABAD

Published by
Mm. Dr. Umesha Mishra,
Ganganatha Jha Research Institute,
Allahabad.

Printed at
The Allahabad Block Works (P.) Ltd.,
Zero Road, Allahabad.

JOURNAL

OF THE

GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE

FEBRUARY—MAY, 1945.

CONTENTS

JOURNAL
OF THE
GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Vol. II] FEBRUARY—MAY 1945 [Parts 2—3

PĀṆINI: HIS LIFE AND WORK

By VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA

Pāṇini represents the characteristic scientific thought of ancient India. As remarked by Macdonell in his *History of Sanskrit Literature*, "the results attained by the Indians in the systematic analysis of language surpass those arrived at by any other nation". Again: "Pāṇini may be regarded as the starting point of the Sanskrit age, the literature of which is almost entirely dominated by the linguistic standard stereotyped by him." His methedology, logic and the very apparatus of thinking have disciplined for ages Sanskrit authors of all classes. His grammar regulates equally the language of both poetry and prose in Sanskrit.

By his genius Pāṇini comprehended and superseded all his predecessors whose works have consequently been lost in oblivion. Of the older linguists, Yāska alone survives, and that because he was not directly a grammarian. His survival is due to the fact that his work lies in a different field, that of Vedāṅga etymology.

As Weber points out, Pāṇini's grammar is superior to all similar works of other countries, by the thoroughness with which it investigates the roots of a language and the formations of its words; by its sharp precision of expression; and above all by its "employment of an algebraic terminology of arbitrary contrivances, the several parts of which stand to each other in the closest harmony," and this

terminology is entirely adequate for explaining all the phenomena which the language presents, demonstrating "the marvellous ingenuity of its inventor and his profound penetration of the entire material of the language."

Pāṇini applies the inductive method in discovering and creating his own material in the spoken and living language of his day for purposes of evolving his grammatical system. This is shown, for example, by his rules applied to the accent, the lengthening of vowels in cases of calling from a distance, salutation, and in the case of questions and answers ; or more specially in his survey of place-names and names for purposes of derivative formations which must have served an intensely practical need. There were also dialectic variations of Sanskrit in Pāṇini's time, when he mentions the peculiarities of the language spoken by the 'easterners' and the 'northerners.' Even Kātyāyana refers to variations of local dialects, while Patañjali mentions words peculiar to Janapadas or districts.

Considering the formative influence of Pāṇini's grammar on the development of Sanskrit language and literature in their various phases we can well understand why grammar is called the science of all sciences. Pāṇini's work is for all ages as far as Sanskrit is concerned.

His work is also unique in one respect, viz., that it is one of the rare masterpieces of Sanskrit literature which is the work of an individual author, and not of a school. According to Burnell, Pāṇini's grammar has, in all probability, been little tampered with ; we have better warrant for its integrity than in the case of any other work (*Aindra School, p.* 31).

The credit of Pāṇini's work is also very much enhanced by its admitted antiquity.

On the whole, one may say that Pāṇini's grammar is related to Sanskrit like the tap-root of a tree, the source of its sap and vitality regulating its growth.

Pāṇini's *magnum opus*, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, is a code of Sanskrit grammar consisting of about 4,000 rules. He wrote in the sūtra style with admirable regard for economy of words. Although Kātyāyana after him also composed the vārttikas in the sūtra form, Pāṇinean commentators have applied the term *sūtrakāra* to Pāṇini only (*Pāṇineḥ sūtra-kārasya*, *Pat.* I. 414). He lived in an age when the sūtra style of literary expression was in full vogue. Patañjali speaks of Pāṇini adhering to sūtra style as the medium of teaching grammar (*vyākaraṇam sūtrayati*, II. 34). Previous writers may have been inclined to treat Vyākaraṇa as composed of rules as well as individual words (*lakṣya-lakṣaṇa*). But Patañjali tells us that Pāṇini's contribution was to formulate rules embodying linguistic phenomena and to build up a system, rather than pursue the arduous and lengthy process of taking each word separately (*na hi Pāṇininā śabdāḥ proktāḥ, kiṁ tarhi, sūtram*, I. 12). The title *śabdakāra* also designates Pāṇini, since grammar being primarily the science of words was itself known as *Śabda*.[1] Another name given by Pāṇini to a grammarian is *śābdika* on account of his authorship of *Śabda* or grammar.[2]

Kātyāyana's Estimate.—Kātyāyana has been Pāṇini's ablest scientific critic. His own genius was of the highest order. He subjected Pāṇini's work to a searching examination, modifying and supplementing the sūtras, initiating discussions on contentious grammatical theories, sometimes in as many as fifty vārttikas, and at times justifying and defending Pāṇini against his critics. He has discharged his work with dignity and writes from a high pedestal and not as a detractor of Pāṇini. He has rather enhanced the depth and dignity of the Pāṇinian system by his own contribution. There is unfortunately a tradition current in India reinforced by fanciful stories that Kātyāyana was a

[1] Cf. *Pāṇini* in I. 1. 68 and VIII. 3. 86, *śabda-saṁjñā*.

[2] IV. 4. 34, *śabdaṁ karoti śābdikaḥ*.

hostile judge of Pāṇini. The opinion is reiterated even by an eminent writer like Śabarasvāmin (*sadvāditvācca Pāṇiner-vacanaṁ pramāṇam, asadvāditvānna Kātyāyanasya*).[3] Prof. Kielhorn for the first time set forth the true position of Kātyāyana in relation to Pāṇini, showing that it is a scientific blunder of the first magnitude to stigmatize Kātyāyana as an *unfair antagonist* of Pāṇini, and that the object which both had in view throughout their works was one and the same, the nature of their remarks being identical, but only differing in form.[4] The dominant position of Pāṇini instead of being assailed emerges unimpaired in Kātyāyana's hands. At the end of his treatise his heart is full of sacred reverence for Pāṇini and he gives expression to it by concluding the vārttika sūtras in the following honorific and benedictory strain : भगवतः पाणिनेः सिद्धम् (VIII. 4. 68).

Patanjali's Tribute.—Patañjali, author of the *Mahābhāṣya* or the Great Commentary on Pāṇini has used his gigantic literary powers to reveal the unfathomable depth of Pāṇini's mind. Living night and day in communion with him he must have been full of reverence for the great teacher. In the course of his commentary he expresses his estimate of Pāṇini in the following epithets :

(1) *Māṅgalika Ācārya* (I. 40; 253), an auspicious teacher who prefixed his treatise with such a lucky word as was destined to bring him eminent fame. There is no doubt about Pāṇini's good luck in the annals of human authorship. His work was greeted with universal approval as recorded by Patañjali :

Pāṇinīyam mahat suvihitam,[5] 'Magnificently well-done is Pāṇini's work.' Pāṇini's popularity eclipsed and supplanted the earlier systems even in elementary stages of Sanskrit

---

[3] *Mīmāṁsā Bhāṣya*, X. 8.1.
[4] *Kātyāyana and Patañjali*, p. 53.
[5] *Pat.* II. 285.

education. That his fame had permited even the younger generation is known from an old remark quoted by Patañjali : *Ākumāraṁ yaśaḥ Pāṇineḥ.*[6] The *Kāśikā* has preserved an old stock example stating that the name of Pāṇini shines all over the world-*Pāṇini-śabdaḥ loke Prakāśate.*[7]

(2) *Pramāṇabhūta Ācārya* (I. 39), a teacher worthy of high authority. In the words of Patañjali, Pāṇini approached his task with a full sense of responsibility : 'Purified by the *kuśa* grass held in hand, the Ācārya seated himself every morning facing the sun and took infinite pains in fashioning each sūtra. Not one syllable is purposeless there, much less can a whole sūtra be.[8] This authoritative conception later on became the pivot of the *Paribhāṣā* that the saving of half a mora is regarded by the grammarians as gladdening as the birth of a son.[9] No doubt, Pāṇini aimed at conciseness, but this was not at the cost of distinctness. His logical and mnemotechnical principles were highly developed, but must have yielded perspicuous sense to his contemporaries.

(3) *Analpamati Ācārya.*—This phrase used in a śloka vārttika and explained by Patañjali I. 335 sums up the genius of Pāṇini, who was gifted with a most powerful mind. His capacious brain coped with the whole range of language and conquered its intricacies with superb masterliness.

(4) *Vṛttajña Ācārya* (I.266). Pāṇini was conversant with the forms and grammatical operations (*vṛtta*) of words in the wide domain of language as it prevailed in the usage of the different countries, Vedic schools (*cāraṇas*), gotras, trades, professions and social grades. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is encyclopaedic in the registering of information from the current language of its time. We also learn from Hiuen

[6] I. 347.

[7] II. 1. 6.

[8] *Pat.* I. 39.

[9] *Paribhāṣendu.* CXXII.

Tsang that 'the Ṛṣi Pāṇini was from his birth extensively informed about men and things.'[10]

(5) *Sukṛt* (III. 121) and *Suhṛt* (I. 208) are terms applied to Pāṇini in the *Bhāṣya*. Pāṇini's amiable disposition is reflected in his avoidance of extreme views and his insistence on the synthesis of conflicting theories. For example, it is well-known that Pāṇini took a balanced view in the matter of *ākṛti* and *vyakti* meanings (whether the word denotes a class or an individual) which later became the subject of strong controversy between Vājapyāyana and Vyāḍi.[11] It may, however, be remarked that Patañjali inspite of his uniform appreciation of Pāṇini, in one place accepts, although temporarily, a lapse in his style.[12]

But on the whole he concurs with Kātyāyana not only in his attitude towards but also in the homage paid to Pāṇini at the end of the *Bhāṣya*:

Bhagavataḥ Pāṇinerācāryasya siddham.

Name.—The author of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is universally known as Pāṇini. Kātyāyana and Patañjali use this name. According to Baudhāyana Pāṇini is a gotra-name included amongst the Vatsa-Bhṛgus, having five *Pravaras*, viz. Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Jāmadagnya. Pāṇini's own sūtra[13] mentioning Paṇin is in support of Pāṇini being a gotra-name.

According to Kaiyaṭa a son of Paṇin was Pāṇina, and a *yuvan* descendant of his was Pāṇini.[14]

The *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* and *Kalpadrukośa*, two later lexicons, mention Āhika, Śālanki, Dākṣīputra and Śālāturīya as appelations of Pāṇini. We have no means to verify the correctness of the first two names. According to Weber the

---

[10] *Siyuki*, I. 115.

[11] *Pat.* I. 242.

[12] *Pramādakṛtam ācāryasya*, II. 287.

[13] VI. 4. 165.

[14] *Pradīpa* on I. 1. 73. 6.

name Śālanki, which actually occurs in the *Bhāṣya*, though it does not clearly appear that Pāṇini is meant by it, leads us to the Vāhīkas.[15] It accords with the fact that Pāṇini was an Udīcya. The last two names are well-known. Patañjali quotes a *kārikā* definitely mentioning Dākṣīputra as an epithet of Pāṇinī,[16] Dākṣī, a female descendant of the Dakṣa gotra, was the name of Pāṇini's mother, from which Dākṣeya became his metronymic.

That the Dakṣas probably were a clan organised as a *saṁgha* is apparent from the following examples in the *Kāśikā*: *Dākṣaḥ, saṁghaḥ Dākṣaḥ aṅkaḥ, Dākṣaṁ lakṣaṇam.*[17] The *Kāśikā* also refers to a settlement of the Dakṣas (*Dākṣo ghoṣaḥ*[18]) and as examples of the names of their villages are given Dākṣi-kūla and Dākṣi-karṣa[19] The *Kāśikā* is citing here an old illustration, since Patañjali also mentions Dākṣikarṣū as the name of a village an inhabitant of which was called *Dākṣikarṣuka*.[20] But more important is the trend of the *Kāśikā's* discussion on Pāṇini II. 4. 20, *Saṁjñāyāṁ kanthośīnareṣu*,[21] which shows that Dākṣi-kanthā situated outside the geographical limits of the Uśīnara country was a northern town. According to Pāṇini Uśīnara formed part of Vāhīka land. More definite evidence about the northern character of the Dakṣas comes from *Kāśikā's* comment on IV. 2. 113, where it is said that the Dakṣas belonged to outside the Prācya-Bharata region.

Patañjali's interpretation of Prācya-Bharata on Pāṇini II. 4. 66 shows that the Prācya or eastern country extended from the region of Bharata or Kuru janapada (I.493).

---

[15] *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 218.

[16] *Dākṣīputrasya Pāṇineḥ*, I. 75.

[17] IV. 3. 127.

[18] IV. 3.127.

[19] VI. 2. 129.

[20] I, 294.

[21] IV. 2. 117. 118.

Strictly speaking the Bharatas geographically formed part of the Prācyas. Proceeding from east to west the geographical regions traversed were the Prācyas, Bharatas, Uśīnaras, Madras and Udīcyas. The *Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa* enumerates the Udīcyas even after the Madras. The Uśīnaras andt he Madras both were in the Vāhīkas. The location of the Dākṣīs placed by the *Kāśikā* beyond Prācya-Bharatas and Uśīnaras, is therefore, pushed further north-west and must have been somewhere in Gandhāra which was the proper Udīcya country. Pāṇini too belonged to Gandhāra, his birth-place Śalātura lay only a few miles north of the junction of the Kabul and the Indus rivers.

It is probable that the home of Dākṣī lay in the same region somewhere in the lower valley of the Kabul river, between Dakka and Attock.

Pāṇini's birth-place.—The name Sālāturīya reserves the tradition of Pāṇini's original home having been at Śalātura. The place-name Śalātura is as old as Pāṇini himself as he includes it in sūtra IV. 3. 94 and teaches the addition of the suffix *caṇ* to denote one whose ancestral home was there. Vardhamāna refers to Pāṇini by this appellation:--

शलातुरो नाम ग्रामः। सोऽभिजनोऽस्यास्तीतिशालातुरीयस्तत्र भवान् पाणिनिः।[22]

Bhāmaha and the Gupta inscriptions also use this synonym of the grammarian.

Hiuen Tsang visited Śalātura in the seventh century A. D. and found the Pāṇinian tradition still current there. He writes, "To the north-west of *U-to-kia-han-c'ho* 20 li or so we come to the town of *P'o-ls-tu-lo.* This is the place where the Ṛiṣi Pāṇini, who composed the *Ching-ming-lun* (*Śabda-Vidyā*) was born."[23] Śalātura which had the distinction of being the birth-place of the world's greatest grammarian, has been correctly identified by

---

[22] *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi,* Commentary on verse 2.

[23] Beal's *Siyuki*, I. 114; also the foot-note saying that the symbol *p'o* is for *so'.*

Cunningham with Lāhur a small town exactly four miles north-west of Ohind.[24] It may be approached from Jahangira station of the N.-W. Ry. on the right bank of the Attock bridge from where it is at a distance of about 12 miles. Buses ply from Mardan to Ohind on the Indus pass by the village of Lāhur.[25]

For about five hundred years Śalātura continued as a centre of Pāṇinian studies. "The children of this town, who are his (Pāṇini's) disciples, revere his eminent qualities, and a statue erected to his memory still exists."[26] Hiuen Tsang's reference to a story of an Arhat returning from Kaniṣka's Buddist Council and admonishing a Brahmin of Śalātura teaching Pāṇini's grammar for his pursuit of heretical śāstras, seems to contain a veiled historical allusion to "the driving out (or conversion) of the Pāṇinīya school from Śalātura and the substitution of Buddhist wisdom instead.[27]

Tradition about Pāṇini's Life

The Indian tradition about Pāṇini is embodied in the *Kathāsarit-sāgara* of Somadeva (11th century A. D.) and the *Bṛhat-kathāmañjarī* of Kṣemendra (11th century) both of which are based on the original *Bṛhat-kathā* of Guṇāḍhya. It says that Pāṇini was a pupil of the teacher

---

[24] *Ancient Geog.* pp. 66-7; *ASR.*, II.95.

[25] A Kharoṣṭhi inscription now, preserved in the Lahore Museum and dated in the Kuśāṇa year 40 was found at Shakardarra near Campbelapore. It mentions the boat-ferry of Sala (*Śala-nokrma*, Sten Konow, *Corpus of Kharoshthi Ins.* II. p. 160, which once plying from the eastern bank of the Indus seems to have derived its name from the town of Śalātura situated on the opposite side at some distance from the river. The name Shakardarra may be derived from Śakradvāra meaning the 'entrance from the east.'

There are several high mounds at Lahur. Recent excavations at one of them by Madam Corbeau brought to light some stucco Buddhist heads and Gandhara terracottas. A colossal image now preserved in the Peshawar museum was also previously brought from one of these mounds. I am indebted for this informations to Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., Ex-Director-General of Archaeology.

[26] *Siyuki*, I. 116.

[27] H. Skold, *Papers on Pāṇini* p. 52.

Varṣa. He lacked in mental powers and lagged behind in studies. Withdrawing for a time from school to the Himalayan seclusion he performed *tapas* and pleased Śiva by whom was revealed to him a new system of grammar. (*vyākaraṇaṁ navam*). His rival was Kātyāyana whom he finally overcame by display of superior powers. His grammar eventually replaced the older Aindra treatise and the celebrated teacher became a friend of the Nanda emperor. This is the main outline of Pāṇini's traditional life story.

There is a striking similarity between the outstanding features of this legend and the account given by Hiuen Tsang as we shall presently examine.

Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa.—The quasi-historical Buddhist work *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa* (C. 800 A. D.) also throws light on Pāṇini and his patron. "After him (Śūrasena) there will be king Nanda at Puśpa-City . . . . In the capital of the Magadha-residents there will be Brahman controversialists (*Brāhmaṇās-tārkikā bhuvi*, verse 425) . . . and the king will be surrounded by them. The king will give them riches . . . . His minister was a Buddist Brahmin Vararuchi who was of high soul, kind and good . . . His great friend was a Brahmin, Pāṇini by name."[28]

What we notice here is the fact recorded also in the *Kathāsarit-sāgara*, of Pāṇini's connections with the court of Pāṭaliputra.

Rajaśekhara.—The above tradition finds strong support from the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* of Rajaśekhara (900 A. D):

श्रूयते च पाटलिपुत्रे शास्त्रकारपरीक्षा।
अत्रोपवर्षवर्षाविह पाणिनिपिंगलाविह व्याडिः।
वररुचिपतञ्जली इह परीक्षिताः ख्यातिमुपजग्मुः।

'There existed in olden days at Pāṭaliputra, the *Sāstrakāra-parīkṣā*, a synod to test the makers of scientific treatises. Upavarṣa and Varṣa, Pāṇini and Piṅgala, Vyāḍi, Vararuci and Patañjali showed their skill in this test and attained dis-

[28] Jayaswal, *Imperial History of India*, p. 14.

tinction.' Here is a literary history of several centuries. Upavarṣa was an ancient writer on Mīmāṁsā. His views about *śabda* are preserved to us in a citation of Śaṅkarācārya who refers to him as *Bhagavān* (I. 3. 28). Varṣa, his brother, is said to have been Pāṇini's teacher. Pāṇini was the distinguished author of the 'new grammar' which he must have presented to the judgment of this august assembly. Piṅgala author of the *Chandoviciti*, a work referred to in the *Gaṇapāṭha* of IV. 3.73, is spoken of as Pāṇini's younger brother by Ṣadguruśiṣya in the *Vedārthadīpikā* commentary (*Piṅgalena Pāṇinyanujena*). Vyāḍi, the author of the *Saṅgraha*) a respectable work on grammatical science and highly spoken of in the *Bhāṣya*,[29] was a junior contemporary of Pāṇini. Vyāḍi wrote his *Saṅgraha* in the sūtra style as is evident from Patañjali's reference to students called *Saṅgraha-sūtrikāḥ*.[30] Kātyāyana and Patañjali are well-known figures whose treatises have merited the highest praise. Thus, the names in Rājaśekhara's list appear to have been mentioned in a chronological order.

Patañjali was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra Śunga (C. 180 B. C.) and an interval of at least two centuries must have intervened between him and Pāṇini.

Testimony of Hiuen Tsang.—Most of the traditions recorded above about Pāṇini find surprising corroboration from a foreign source, viz., the writings of Hiuen Tsang. The Chinese traveller visited Śalātura in person and the information collected by him on the spot is to be regarded as specially valuable and trustworthy, particularly on points where Somadeva, Rājaśekhara, *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* and the Chinese traveller are in substantial agreement. What is very surprising is that Hiuen Tsang's account in

---

[29] Cf. Patañjali on the meaning of *Sidha* having been decided in the *Saṅgraha*, I. 6; also *Śobhanā Khalu Dākṣāyaṇasya Sangrahasya kṛtiḥ*, I. 468.

[30] Those who study the *Sangrahasūtras*, IV, 2, 60 ; II, 294.

respect of three things, viz., the origin of grammar, Pāṇini's eminent qualities and his literary method, can be traced back to Patañjali himself.

Having stated that Ṛṣi Pāṇini who composed the Śabda-vidyā was born at Śalātura, Hiuen Tsang proceeds to say :

'Referring to the most ancient times, letters were very numerous; but when, in the process of ages, the world was destroyed and remained as void, the Devas of long life descended spiritually to guide the people. Such was the origin of the ancient letters and composition. From this time and after it the source (language) spread and passed its (*former*) bounds. Brahmadeva and Śakra (Devendra) established rules (*forms* or *examples*) according to the requirements. Ṛishis belonging to different schools each drew up forms of letters. Men in their successive generations put into use what had been delivered to them ; but nevertheless students without ability were unable to make use (*of these characters*). And now mens' lives were reduced to the length of a hundred years, when the Ṛishi Pāṇini was born; he was from his birth extensively informed about things (*men and things*). The times being dull and careless, he wished to reform the vague and false rules (*of writing and speaking*)—to fix the rules and correct improprieties. As he wandered about asking for right ways (or *wisdom and knowledge*), he encountered Īśvara Deva, and recounted to him the plan of his undertaking. Īśvara Deva said, "Wonderful, I will assist you in this." The Ṛishi, having received instruction, retired. He then laboured incessantly and put forth all his power of mind. He collected a multitude of words, and made a book on letters which contained a thousand ślokas ; each śloka was of thirty-two syallables. It contained every thing known from the first till then, without exception, respecting letters and words. He then closed it and sent it to the king (*supreme ruler*), who exceedingly prized it, and issued an edict that throughout the kingdom it should be used and taught to others ; and he added that whoever should learn it from beginning to end should receive as his reward a thousand pieces of gold. And so from the time masters have received it and handed it down in its completeness for the good of the world. Hence the Brahmanas of this town are well grounded in their literary work, and are of high renown for their talents, well informed as to things (*men and things*), and of a vigorous understanding.' [1]

---

[81] [1] *Siyuki*, pp. 114-115.

We must now see how far these details are confirmed by the tradition embodied in Patañjali and other writers :

(1) *Origin of Ancient Letters.*—This accords with the tradition almost universal in India about the divine origin of the different śāstras and the spiritual guidance received from above in the propagation of knowledge. Patañjali refers to the period of a thousand divine years (*divya varṣa-sahasra*) during which time Bṛhaspati expounded ancient letters (*śabda-pārāyaṇaṁ provāca*) to his divine pupil Indra. The science of Āyurveda also records its revelation by Indra to Bhāradvāja in the form as it was originally known to Brahmā.[32]

(2) *Growth of Literature.*—" From this time . . the source (*of language*) spread and passed its former (bounds)".[33] Patañjali's account of the vast expansion of language after the first impulse to it was received from divine revelation is a piece of poetic brilliance. He writes :

सप्तद्वीपा वसुमती त्रयो लोकाश्चत्वारो वेदाः साङ्गाः सरहस्या बहुधा विभिन्ना एकशतमध्वर्यु शाखाः सहस्रवर्त्मा सामवेद एकविंशतिधा बाह्वृच्यं नवधाथर्वणो वेदो वाकोवाक्यमितिहासः पुराणं वैद्यकम्—इत्येतावाञ्शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषयः।[34]

'There is the wide world, its rich literature includes the four Vedas with their Aṅgas and mystic portions, their ramifications into 101 sākhās of the *Yajurveda*, 1000 of *Sāmaveda*, 21 of *Ṛgveda* and 9 of *Atharvaveda*, the Dialogue portions, Itihāsa, Purāṇa and Vaidyaka treatises, all this constitutes the vast source of language.' This tallies with the spirit of what Hiuen Tsang has recorded. Even before the time of Pāṇini the development of Sanskrit literature had reached a stage of considerable advancement, as we see in the names of works and classes of literature referred to in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

(3) *Reference to Aindra System.*—Brahma Deva and Śakra established rules (forms or examples) ' according

---

[32] *Caraka*, sūtrasthāna, I. 23-24.

[33] Hiuen Tsang.

[34] *Bhāṣya*, I. 9.

to the requirements.'[35] The tradition of an Aindra grammar prior to Pāṇini is very strong in Sanskrit literature. It is found in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* where it is said that the gods approached Indra to elucidate speech (*vācaṁ vyākuru*) for them.[36] Patañjali speaks of Bṛhaspati expounding to Indra the words by means of individual forms or *examples*.[37] Tārānātha (1608 A. D.) states that though it is said in Tibet that the Indra Vyākaraṇa is earlier, this must be held of the region of the gods, and not of Āryadeśa.[38] The tradition in the *Ṛktantra*, a Prātiśākhya work of the *Sāmaveda* is more to the point. 'Brahmā taught Bṛhaspati; Bṛhaspati taught Indra; Indra taught Bhāradvāja, and from him the system devoloved on the Ṛṣis.'[39] Brahmā as Prajāpati is the ultimate source of knowledge. Indra represents the divine agency. The school of Bṛhaspati was continued through his descendant Bhāradvāja who initiated other teachers into the system. There certainly existed a Bhāradvāja school of grammar. Pāṇini himself quotes the authority of the grammarian Bhāradvāja.[40] Patañjali frequently quotes the vārttikas of the Bhāradvājīyas (followers of the Bhāradvāja system as the Pāṇinīyas were of Pāṇini) as giving a version differing from Kātyāvana.[41] The *Ṛk-Prātiśākhya* which is substantially anterior to Pāṇini also refers to Bhāradvāja, whom we may regard as an adherent of the earlier Aindra system. The legendary accounts of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* also mention that it was the Aindra school which was supplanted by Pāṇini's work.

---

[35] Hiuen Tsang.

[36] Quoted by Sāyaṇa in the *Intro. to Ṛg.*, Vol. I. p. 35; also in the *Jaiminīyanyāyamālāvistara*, I. 3.9.

[37] *Pratipadoktānām śabdānām*, I. 5; almost literally rendered by Hiuen Tsang.

[38] *History of Buddhism*, p. 54.

[39] *Ṛktantra*, Dr. Suryakant's edition, p. 3.

[40] VII. 2, 63.

[41] II. 46; 70, etc..

(4) *Different Schools before Pāṇini.*—'Ṛṣis belonging to different schools each drew up forms of letters'.[42] This refers to the intense literary activity about words and language preceding Pāṇini in which hundreds of teachers including such illustrious names as Śākaṭāyana, Gārgya, Yāska, Śaunaka, Śākalya, Āpiśali, Audavraji, etc., participated. Burnell's list of teachers from Nirukta, Pāṇini and the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya*[43] as well as the extant remnants of the Caraṇa literature and the numerous phonetic treatises (Śikṣās) still available point to the intellectual ferment which brought into being the mighty system of Pāṇini's grammar.

(5) *Comparative Decay of Grammatical Studie.*—'Men in their successive generations put into use what had been delivered to them. And now men's lives were reduced to the length of a hundred years' . . . 'The times being dull and careless'.[44] Patañjali says the same thing when he refers to *purākalpa* (the bygone ages) when keen Brahmanical pupils devoted themselves first to master Vyākaraṇa, and then took up the study of Veda. But in a subsequent epoch students devoted less attention to grammar, they even considered it useless (*anarthakaṁ vyākara ṇam*). It was to reform such dull and careless beings that Pāṇini wrote his system.[45] As to the lessening of men's lives to a hundred years, Hiuen Tsang is almost literally rendering Patañjali's remark : किम पुनरद्यत्वे यः सर्वथा चिरं जीवति स वर्षशतं जीवति। 'What to say of the present times when one hundred is the maximum limit of men's lives.'

'Pāṇini's object was to fix the rules and correct improprieties.'[46] His treatise has been referred to by Kātyāyana as

---

[42] Hiuen Tsang.

[43] *Aindra School*, pp. 32-33.

[44] Hiuen Tsang.

[45] *Vipratipanna-buddhibhyo' dhyetṛbhya ācārya idam śāstram anvācaṣṭe* Pt. I. 5.

[46] Hiuen Tsang.

sādhvanuśāsana śāstra 'the book of correct instruction'.[17] May it not contain an allusion to Pāṇini ministering to the standard form of speech or what Patañlaji terms the language of the Śiṣṭas ?

(6) *Pāṇini's Method.*—' Pāṇini was from his birth extensively informed about men and things. He wandered about asking for knowledge. He collected a multitude of words.'[18] A patient study of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* convinces us of the fact that Pāṇini chartered extensive sources for the collection of his material. He made such very minute observations as, for example, differences in the accentuation of names of wells situated on the right and left banks of this river Beas. This minute enquiry of Pāṇini evoked the pertinent remark from the author of the *Kāśikā*—'The Sūtakāra was endowed with extremely penetrating vision.'[19]

Pāṇini's extensive peregrinations in search of fresh material and the method of personal discussion and interrogation which he followed to elicit facts were in the true tradition of the University of Takṣaśilā. We have a graphic account in Buddhist literature how the royal physician Jīvaka was trained by his teacher to accumulate facts of plant botany by undertaking an exhaustive survey of the area round about the university. Born at Śalātura Pāṇini must have been trained under the intellectual discipline of Takṣaśilā which was a world-reputed centre of higher education in the age of the Buddha.

(7) *Pāṇini and Maheśvara.*— The element of Maheśvara's aid to Pāṇini is known to Somadeva, but Hiuen Tsang's version of it is much more rational. The information that Pāṇini possessed a well-conceived 'plan of his undertaking' which was highly approved of by Īśvara

---

[17] *Vārttika* I. 1.44. 143; I.104.

[18] Hiuen Tsang.

[19] महती सूक्ष्मेक्षिका वर्तते सूत्रकारस्य, IV, 2, 74.

is of great importance. The contact with Īśvara Deva may indicate the traditional divine help received in all pious undertakings. But the essence is found in this sentence. 'The Ṛṣi having received instruction, retired.' It points to the period of Pāṇini's intense intellectual labour marked with concentration and withdrawl to quiet surroundings, as Patañjali has also observed (*śucau avakāśe*, etc.).

(8) *Pāṇini's Effort.*—'He then laboured incessantly and put forth all his power of mind,' which is almost a literal translation of Patañjali's remark about Pāṇini taking great pains in formulating his system:

प्रमाणभूत आचार्यः महतायत्नेन सूत्रं प्रणयति स्म [50]

Who can doubt that Pāṇini endowed with all great mental power must have put forth supreme effort to produce a work so stupendous as the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*?

(9) *Pāṇini's Mental Powers.*—Hiuen Tsang speaks of Pāṇini's spirit and wisdom, and of his vigorous mind which he devoted to investigate worldly literature.[51] We have already spoken of Patañjali's tribute to Pāṇini as *analpamati ācārya*, explained by Kaiyaṭa as *medhāvī*, i.e., of great understanding and memory. We must therefore confidently dismiss the childish story of Pāṇini being a dunce at school. As observed by Sköld, Hiuen Tsang's statement was no doubt founded on the unbroken tradition in Śalātura of his times.[52]

(9) *Extent of Pāṇini's Work.*—Pāṇini made a book on letters which contained a thousand *ślokas*; each *śloka* was of thirty-two syllables.[53] It expresses the actual extent of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* consisting of 3981 sūtras plus 14 Pratyāhāra sūtras, as computed by the śloka measure of 32 syllables each. Sköld has fallen into an error by this statement. He writes:

---

[50] *Bhāṣya* I. 39.

[51] *Siyuki*; I. 116.

[52] *Papers on Pāṇini*, p. 48.

[53] Hiuen Tsang.

'This curious statement can hardly be interpreted in another way than by assuming, that the work of Pāṇini, just as so many other Indian works on grammar, was originally written in metrical form.'[54] This is a very puerile inference. As a matter of fact, hardly any Indian grammar, Sanskrit or Prakrit, is in metrical form. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* from its inception was in the sūtra style, it is a product of the sūtra age of literary style, and its bulk *ab initio* was about 1,000 ślokas, *as it is today*. The statement is akin to the computation of Vyāḍi's *Saṅgraha*, which was also in sūtras, as *lakṣa-ślokātmaka*. *Kāśikā* on IV, 2.65 says that not only Pāṇini's work, but those of Kāśakṛtsna and Vyāghrapāda also were in sūtra style (*Daṣakaḥ Vaiyāhra-padīyaḥ*; *Trikaḥ Kāśakṛtsnaḥ*). Even upto a late period all Indian grammars were written in sūtra form.

(10) *A Complete Digest*.—'It contained everything known from the first till then, without exception, respecting letters and words.[55] Pāṇini's book considered a compendious treatise,[56] must have impressed men from the very beginning by its all comrehensive nature. According to Patañjali, Pāṇini's work was connected with all the Vedic schools, सर्ववेदपारिषदं हीदं शास्त्रम्, suggesting that Pāṇini had brought together in his treatise the phonetical and grammatical material relating to all the different Vedic schools.

Burnell rightly argues that for the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* to have gained such a position of authority, 'it must have been vastly superior in the eyes of the Brahmanas to all the numerous treatises which must have been in existence before Pāṇini's time.'[57] Pawate has recently raised the problem of Pāṇini's borrowings,[58] but the question needs more thorough investigation. We find in the *Ṛktantra*, a Sāma-Prātiśākhya

[54] *Papers on Pāṇini*, p. 32.

[55] ..uen Tsang.

[56] ..*śāstraugha*, *Pat*. I. 40; also *Pāninīyam mahat*, II. 285.

[57] ..*hool*, p. 38.

[58] ..*he Aṣṭādhyāyī* by I. S. Pawate, Hubli.

which Dr. Surya Kant attributes to Audavraji, some of Pāṇini's sūtras almost *verbatim*.[59]

(11) *Pāṇini and Pāṭaliputra*.—' He then closed it and sent it to the king (supreme ruler), who exceedingly prized it.'[60] The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, Somadeva and Tārānātha all relate the story of Pāṇini's friendship with one of the Nanda kings. Rājaśekhara records a tradition, already referred to, showing Pāṇini's connection with Pāṭaliputra. It is very likely that Pāṇini visited Pāṭaliputra in person to participate in the *Śāstrakāra* examination rather than send his book through an emissary. Pāṭaliputra held a pre-eminent position in the literary life of the nation during the Maurya and Nanda periods. Cāṇakya, a resident of the distant North-west like Pāṇini himself and nurtured in the glorious traditions of the Takṣaśilā school, also visited Pāṭaliputra. The *Atthapakāsinī* commentary of the Simhalese *Mahāvaṁśa* narrating the early life of Cāṇakya relates how during the course of his intellectual career to establish his reputation he was attracted to Pāṭaliputra. ('वादं पर्येसन्तो पुप्फपुरं गन्त्वा')[61]

Pāṇini's mission to the celebrated capital of the Prācya country was more or less of the same nature, viz., to submit his work to the critical judgment of the best learned men of his time.

The Great Synod.—Besides the Simhalese tradition we also have the reliable testimony of the Greek authors who have mentioned the annual intellectual assemblies held at Pāṭaliputra. According to Megasthenes the Brahmanas " are employed publicly by kings at what is called the *Great Synod* where at the beginning of the new year, all the philosophers are gathered together, and any philosopher *who*

---

[59] Cf. *Ṛktantra*, sūtras 195-218.

[60] Hiuen Tsang.

[61] I owe this reference to Prof. C. D. Chatterji, M.A., of the Lucknow University.

may have committed any useful suggestion to writing, or observed any means for improving the crops and cattle, or for promoting the public interests, declare it publicly."[62] Diodorus in his epitome of Megasthenes also refers to these distinguished gatherings at the beginning of each new year in which the learned men participated and the sovereign of the land acted as patron.[63] These statements not only confirm the Sanskrit and Pali accounts but also help us to fix the name and the time of the assembly; and warrant us to infer that it must have been an old institution in the capital of the empire. Rājaśekhara's *Śāstrakāra parīkṣā* corresponds closely to the functions of the Great Synod described by Megasthenes who also records the time of its annual sessions. राजसभा was the word for these royal academies as noted by Pāṇini (सभा राजाऽमनुष्यपूर्वा). Their name and fame reverberrated through the corridors of time, as we see from Patañjali making reference to the Sabhā of two great emperors, viz., चन्द्रगुप्तसभा, पुष्यमित्रसभा.

(12) *Recognition of learning* — Scholars adjusted by these synods and distinguished publicity for producing a scientific contribution that was 'committed to writing' and which either promoted public interest or was conducive to general welfare, deserved to be adequately recognised and rewarded. The honorarium sometimes consisted of freedom from paying public taxes: "He who gives sound advice is exempted from paying any taxes or contributions."[64] Speaking in general of the learned Brāhmaṇas it is said that, "in requital of their services they receive valuable gifts and privileges."[65] We may here consider a suggestive word from Patañjali, viz., *sābhāsannayanah*, 'arising from the honour

---

[62] *Strabo*, XV. 1; Mc Crindle's *Megasthenes*, Frag. XXXIII.
[63] Mc Crindle, *Megasthenes*, Frag, I, p. 39,
[64] *Meg*. Frag. XXXIII.
[65] *Diodorus*, Frag. I. p. 38.

received in a *Sabhā*,'[66] which refers to something resulting from proficiency shown at a Sabhā of this type. We have the authority of Pāṇini himself to construe *sannayana* in the sense of *sammānana*,[67] i.e., distinction secured in respect of a Śāstra by means of vindicatory exposition.[68] Hiuen Tsang speaks of a thousand pieces of gold as the declared royal prize received by one who mastered the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* from beginning to end. Perhaps one of Pāṇini's rules can be better understood by being interpreted against this background. The Sūtra, सप्तमीहारिणौ धर्म्येऽहरणे,[69] is based on a customary payment of this nature called *dharmya* and speaks of its recipient as *hārin*, one who takes away the *dharmya* prize (*ācāra-niyata deyaṁ yaḥ svīkaroti, Kāśikā*). The rule prescribes acute accent on the first syllable of the recipient—denoting word. One of the illustrations to this rule cited by Patañjali makes the grammarian (*vaiyākaraṇa*) a winner (*hārin*) and speaks of an elephant as his customary prize.[70] The payment of an elephant as the prize money could have originated naturally in east India. We may recall in this connection the mention by Kauṭilya of Prācya as the country which supplied the best elephants[71] and compare the statement ascribed to Megasthenese[72] that the largest elephants in all the land were those called the *Praisian*. We do not know if the *Vaiyākaraṇa hastī* was equal in value to one thousand pieces of gold which, according to Hiuen Tsang, a grammarian received as his fixed reward. Kautilya, surprisingly, gives the same figure but in silver currency : "Learned men

---

[66] I. 1. 73; I. 189.

[67] I. 3. 36.

[68] cf. *Kāśikā*, शास्त्रे पदार्थान् नयते, उपपत्तिभिः स्थिरीकृत्य शिष्येभ्यः 5 युक्तिभिः स्थापयमानाः सम्मानिताः पूजिता भवन्ति ।

[69] VI. 2. 65,.

[70] *Kāśikā* VI. 2. 65, *Bhāṣya*, III. 130, वैयाकरणहस्ती

[71] *Arth*. II. 2, p. 50.

[72] Mc Crindle, *Ancient India*, Meg. p. 118.

(*vidyāvantaḥ*) shall have honorarium (*pujā-vetana*) ranging from 500 to 1,000 *paṇas* according to their merit.[73]

The above analysis of Hiuen Tsang's testimony recorded on the spot in Śalātura of his times leads us to the belief that the main outline of Pāṇini's life and literary career as incorporated in it represent a substantial element of historical truth.

Pāṇini as a Poet.—The tradition of Pāṇini the poet is strong in Sanskrit anthologies which claim to quote his verses. A verse in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* refers to Dākaṣīputra as a poet. The available information with regard to the poet Pāṇini is put together by Pischel, who is inclined to accept the identity of the grammarian and the poet. Bhandarkar, on the other hand, holds that the style in which the verses ascribed to Pāṇini are written is sufficient to prove that they cannot be by that grammarian.[74] Prof. Kshitis Chandra Chatterji after discussing at length all the known verses assigned to Pāṇini[75] dismisses the theory of his authorship in these words:

"The fact that Pāṇini as a poet is nowhere mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya* or in any of the later first-rate works of the Pāṇini school and that annotators and commentators have racked their brains to explain away ungrammatical forms instead of regarding the uses in the *Jāmbavatīvijaya* as *jñāpakas*, that some of the verses attributed to Pāṇini in one anthology are attributed to other poets in others, that some of these verses show distinct traces of borrowings of a much later period, that none of the verses not belonging to the *Jāmbavatīvijaya* bear the stamp of the grammarian on them, that some of them contain forms which would make Pāṇini shudder and that some of them seem to be composed as examples for a work on rhetoric of a much later period,

[73] *Arth.* V. 3; p. 248.

[74] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XVI, p. 344.

[75] *Z. D. M. G.*, XXXIX pp. 95 and ff..

clearly indicate that the verses cannot have been the work of poet Pāṇini. The *Jāmbavatīvijaya Kāvya* or the *Pātālavijaya Kāvya* must have been composed by a poetaster of about the ninth century A. D. who made use of many peculiar grammatical forms in it and fathered it on Pāṇini, the great grammarian."[76]

We must, however, draw attention to one very important fact. In a *kārikā* in the *Bhāṣya* the epithet *kavi* is used for Pāṇini :—

तदकीर्तितमाचरितं कविना[77]

The *Kāśikā* translates *kavi* as *sūtrakāra* a designation applied only to Pāṇini. Kaiyaṭa and Nāgeśa understand *kavi* differently, not a poet but a *medhāvī* or genius, although according to them also none else but Pāṇini is meant. There is no parallel in the history of Sanskrit literature where the title of *kavi* has been conferred on the writer of a scientific treatise, howsoever great a genius he might be. Unfortunately, the *Jāmbavatīvijaya* is a lost poem, perhaps lost for ever. But reference to its story viz., the marriage of Jāmbavatī with Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva is found in the *Mahāummaga* Jātaka, one of the oldest portions of the Pali literature. More than this we cannot safely postulate about Pāṇini the poet.

THE AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ

(i) Its *Names*.—The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is variously referred to as *Aṣṭaka*,[78] *Pāṇinīya*,[79] or *Vṛttisūtra*.[80] In the illustrations to several sūtras, viz., II. 4. 21, IV. 3. 115 and VI. 2. 14, *Kāśikā* speaks of the Pāṇinīya system as an *Akālaka* grammar (*Pāṇinyu-pajñam akālakaṁ vyākaraṇaṁ*). The name is significant as showing that Pāṇini wisely eschewed the discussion of *kāla*

---

[76] *Cal. Oriental Journal*, Vol. I, pp. 22-23; also p. 135.

[77] I. 4. 50; I. 334.

[78] *aṣṭau adhyāyāḥ parimāṇam asya sūtrasya*, V. 1. 58.

[79] *Pāṇininā proktaṁ*, IV. 3. 101.

[80] *Bhasya* I. 371 differentiating Vṛttisūtra from vārttika.

or tenses like *Parokṣa*,[81] and *vartamānā*[82] on the exact definition of which hair-splitting arguments were often advanced, e.g., some say Parokṣa means the lapse of a century; others say that which is hidden from the eye of the visitor is Parokṣa; still others contend that an interval of two to three days constitutes Parokṣa.[83] Pāṇini took a common sense view in the matter as indeed in all extreme controversies. In the very important sūtra-kāṇḍa,[84] he lays down that a grammarian need not canonize details about the Kāla or time and tense durations, since he must depend on the usage of the day for all such information. This view of Pāṇini emphatically expressed in the sūtra '*Kālopasarjane ca tulyam*,'[85] must have been responsible for the epithet *Akālaka* applied to his treatise from the very beginning.

(ii) *Text*.—The text of the sūtras has come down to us almost intact.[86] The sūtras were committed to memory and according to Hiuen Tsang handed down through a succession of teachers: "And so from that time masters have received it and handed it down in its completeness for the good of the world."[87] According to the author of the *Svarasiddhāntacandrikā* the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* consists of 3,995 sūtras, i.e., 3,981 sūtras plus the 14 pratyāhāra sūtras:[88]

चतुःसहस्रो सूत्राणां पञ्चसूत्रविवर्जिता ।
अष्टाध्यायी पाणिनीया सूत्रैर्माहेश्वरैः सह ॥[89]

Bothlingk's critical edition contains 3,983 sūtras and Taranath Tarkavachaspati's *Siddhāntakaumudī* shows 3,965

---

[81] *Bhāṣya*, II. 120.

[82] *Bhāṣya*, II. 123.

[83] *Bhāṣya*, II. 120.

[84] I. 2. 51-57.

[85] I. 2, 37.

[86] Belevalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 19.

[87] *Siyuki*, I. 115.

[88] The Text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* by K. Madhava Krishna Sharma, *J. U. P. H. S.*, July, 1940, pp. 52-65.

[89] *Svarasiddhānta-candrikā* p. 3., verse 15, Annamalai University.

sūtras. Dr. Kielhorn after a detailed enquiry into the text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* came to the conclusion that "the text given in the *Kāśikāvṛtti* (and that of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in the editions) contains 20 more sūtras than the original text."[90] This increase is accounted for in two ways viz., (i) by applying the principle of *yoga-vibhāga* or splitting into two what Pāṇini originally read as a single sūtra, and (ii) by interpolating some vārttikas as full-fledged sūtras in the present text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.[91] With this also goes the retouching of certain sūtras by admitting additional words from the *vārttikas*. There is again a discussion with respect to several other problems, viz. the existence in the original text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of the sign of nasalization marked on indicatory vowels,[92] of the sign of svarita accent to denote *adhikāra*[93], of accentuation of the text as in the case of Vedic works (*traisvaryapāṭha*), and of the Saṁhitāpāṭha or unseparated word arrangement of all the sūtras of each pāda or sub-section. We know that in case of the first two the followers of the Pāṇinīya school now take recourse to tradition, which claims an uninterrupted oral transmission from the time of Pāṇini's *upadeśa* or first instruction. Besides the absence of an accented text tradition, Kaiyaṭa was in favour of the hypothesis of *ekaśruti* or unaccented text. The theory of *Saṁhitāpāṭha* which was discussed even before Patañjali[94] appears to have been adopted more as a convenient device to get

---

[90] *Ind. Antiquary*, XVI. 184.

[91] In one case unnoticed by Kielhorn we have evidence of the fact that even before the time of Patañjali variant wording of the sūtra had come to be discussed. (III. 2. 134, *Iha Kecidākveritisūtram paṭhanti, kecit prāk-kveriti-Bhāṣya*, II. 135). There are some additional variants also to be noticed, e.g., *Kāśikā*, III. 3. 78, VI. 1. 117, VI. 1. 156. VI. 2. 134; *Padamañjarī*, IV. 3. 119, IV. 4. 88; *Siddāntakaumudī*, V. 2 68. V. 2. 68).

[92] *Upadeśe'Janunāsika it* I. 3. 2,

[93] *Svaritenādhikārah*, I. 3.11.

[94] Cf. *Ślokavārttika* on I. 4. 56 discussing *rīśvara* and *vīśvara*, the latter form being possible only in *Saṁhitāpāṭha*, *Bhāṣya* I, 340.

over stray cases of difficulty of interpretation rather than as a textual reality.[95]

(iii) *Gaṇapāṭha*.—The Gaṇapāṭha forms the most important accessory treatise to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Burnell observes that the gaṇas were hardly used by the Aindra grammarians, and there are signs that Pāṇini was the first to use them extensively even if he did not invent the system.[96] Patañjali definitely states that the Gaṇapāṭha had first been compiled by Pāṇini before he composed the sūtras:—

एवं तर्हि आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति स पूर्वः पाठोऽयं पुनः पाठः ।[97]

Hiuen Tsang's reference that Pāṇini collected a multitude of words and made a book, almost endorses Patañjali in his statement that the Gaṇapāṭha preceded the Sūtrapāṭha. In the Gaṇapāṭha are incorporated the names of numerous towns and cities, rivers and mountains, countries and tribes, gotras and caraṇas. It has been already shown on the testimony of Hiuen Tsang that the Sūtra-kāra undertook extensive travels in quest of this material. The Gaṇas, therefore, possess considerable importance as a source of historical and geographical information.

A critical reconstruction of the Gaṇapāṭha is an essential part of the Pāṇinian textual problem. The *Kāśikā* has preserved lists of words in each gaṇa. The evidence of the *Cāndravṛtti* which is earlier than the *Kāśikā* and which also preserves full lists of the Gaṇas is also helpful. A mutual comparision proves that the *Kāśikā* was following a geniune tradition. Kātyāyana and Patañjali also had paid close attention to preserve the purity of the Gaṇapaṭha. In many cases they have discussed the implications of the inclusion or otherwise of a particular word in a *Gaṇu*, *e.g.*, *Ulūka* and *Kṣudraka-Mālava* in the Khaṇḍikādi,[98]

---

95. For a detailed discussion on the above, see S. P. Chaturvedi, *On the Original Text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī*, *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I. pp. 562-569.

96. *Aindra System*, pp. 28-30.

97. *Bhāṣya*, I. 92-93.

98. V. 2. 45.

Nṛnamana in Kṣubhnādi,[99] *Śākalya* in Lohitādi,[100] *takṣan* in Śivādi[101], *Garga-Bhārgavikā* in Gopavanādi[102] and *Atharvan* and *Ātharvaṇa* in Vasantādi.[103]

Their discussions are not only helpful in reconstructing a genuine text of the Gaṇapāṭha in so far as they go, but creates a general impression that the tradition of the Pāṇinian school attached no less importance to the gaṇas than the sūtras. It is, however, impossible in the present circumstances to vouchsafe the authenticity of each word in a gaṇa. The commentaries on Pāṇini have proceeded on the assumption that the basis of the Gaṇapāṭha is generally sound.[104] We must agree with Dr. Bhandarkar that most of the words in the gaṇa must have been handed down from the time of Pāṇini himself, a good many being given by Patañjali in his great commentary.[105] On the other hand, the text of the gaṇas, especially of those which were called *ākṛti gaṇas* (i.e. of which the list was left open by Pāṇini himself) suffered from later additions.

---

99 VIII. 4. 39.

100 IV. 1. 18, on which there is a long discussion.

101 II. 262, Kātyāyana devotes 3 vārttikas to consider the reading in the group.

102 II. 4. 67.

103 *Bhāṣya* II. 320; cf. Patañjali's arithmetical remark that the words are read four times in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

104 E.g., the Yaskādi group (II. 4. 63) analysed by the *Kāśikā*; out of a total of 36 words 16 have been directly traced to 5 different gaṇas of Pāṇini, viz., the first five to Sivādi (V. 1. 112); *Kudri*, Viśri, Ajabasti, Mitrayu to Gṛṣṭyādi (IV. 1. 136); Puṣkarasad to Bāhvādi (IV. 1. 96); *Kharapa* to Naḍadi (iv. 1. 99); Bhalandana again to Śivādi ((IV. 1. 112): and Bhaḍila, Bhaḍita, Bhaṇḍila to Aśvādi (IV. 1. 110). Intrinsic evidence of the sūtras also in support of gaṇa-words is sometimes available, e.g. the reading of Pravahaṇa in IV. 1. 123 is presumed by the sūtra VII. 3. 28, or the reading of the gaṇa Sarvādi is authenticated by several sūtras of Pāṇini himself as Pūrvādi (VII, 1, 16), Dvyādi (V. 3, 2), Ḍatarādi (VII, 1, 25) and Tyadādi (VII. 2. 102). The Lohitādi-Katanta group was included in the Gargādi gaṇa (IV. 1. 105) which like the Bidādi must be considered as one of the best preserved groups.

105 *Ind. Ant.* I. 21.

Patañjali distinguishes between two kinds of gaṇas, (1) those which Pāṇini had read exhaustively, and (2) those which were only suggestive.[106] The process of interpolation was more freely operating in the case of groups which were of linguistic importance, as Ardharcādi, Ajādi, Gaurādi and Tārakādi. On the other hand, gaṇas with proper names comparatively suffered much less as there is a tendency for them to get insulated and withdrawn from the general usage of the language. The gaṇas with names of gotras can to a great extent be verified from the lists of Baudhāyana in the *Mahāpravara-kāṇḍa*. Other groups in which geographical names predominate (e.g., Dāmanyādi and Takṣaśilādi) can to some extent be verified from the mention of those place-names in old independent sources, as the accounts of the Greek writers, the *Mahābhārata* and the Pāli literature. It is a reasonable inference that the compilation of such lists was generally the result of first hand field-work undertaken by the author himself. A large percentage of place-names in the gaṇas is archaic, and in many cases not traceable outside the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Their interpolation at the hands of later writers was therefore highly improbable. For example, the tribe of the Sāvitrī-putrakas in the gaṇa Dāmanyādi[107] must date from Pāṇini, as it is unknown in literature except in one passage of the Karṇa-parvan.[108] At any rate the chances of fresh accretions to lists of Janapadas and other place-names were considerably less after their redaction by Patañjali.

Schools other than Pāṇini's probably possessed gaṇa lists also. In a vārttika on the Kraudyādi gaṇa[109] Kātyāyana refers to the Raudhyādi class which Patañjali

---

[106] Cf. Patañjali on II, 1, 29, श्रेण्यादयः पठ्यन्ते, कृतादिराकृतिगणः, i.e., of two groups in the same sūtra one was fixed and the othet was left open.

[107] V. 3.116.

[108] *Mbh.* 5, 49,

[109] IV. 1.180.

informs us was identical with the former.[110] Since Rauḍhi is not included in Pāṇini's Gaṇapāṭha, we may infer that in some other grammar (*vyākaraṇāntara*) the group was named after Rauḍhi. We are indebted to Bhartṛhari for the valuable information that the grammar of Āpiśali (a predecessor of Pāṇini) arranged the words of the gaṇa sarvādi[111] in a different order.[112] In assessing the value of Pāṇinian evidence, the testimony of the Gaṇapāṭha, however will always remain at best of only secondary importance.

Pāṇinian Tradition and the value of the Kāśikā.—The *Kāśikā* is the only exhaustive, lucid, authoritative and ancient commentary on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*[113] According to Haradatta it was written at Benares (*Kāśiṣu bhavā*). Its importance for interpreting Pāṇini cannot be overrated. Amongst previous commentaries Bhartṛhari refers to the Vṛttikāra Kuṇi[114] and Kaiyaṭa mentions that Patañjali lined himself up with Kuṇi.[115] There is, however, strong evidence suggesting that each subsequent commentary on Pāṇini—*Kūṇi*, *Māthurī Vṛtti*,[116] Patañjali's *Bhāṣya* or *Cūrṇī*, *Bhartṛhari*, *Bhāgavṛtti*, *Kāśikā*, *Nyāsa*, *Padamañjarī*—adhered to an older and uninterrupted Pāṇinian tradition. An intensive study of the *Kāśikā*, reveals its wholesale indebtedness to the *Mahābhāṣya*. In the first verse the author explicitly admits his dependence on the *Bhāṣya* and an earlier commentary which unfortunately is left unnamed (*Vṛttau Bhāṣye*). The fact of the continuity of the earlier tradition in subsequent commentaries

110 *Bhāṣya* II. 233.

111 I. 2.27

112 *Kielhorn, Intro.*, *Bhāṣya*, *II. p.* 19.

113 *Pawate. Structure of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, p. ix.*

114 Kielhorn, Vol. II. *Intro.* p. 21, footnote.

115 *Pradīpa*, I. 1.75 *Bhāṣykārastu Kuṇidarśanam aśiśriyat.*

116 माथुरी वृत्ति, referred to by Patañjali (*Bhāṣya.* IV. 3. 101), was according to the भाषावृत्ति of पुरुषोत्तमदेव (I. 2. 57) a Commentary on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

imparts value to the evidence embodied in the *Kāśika* also. The perusal of even a few leading sūtras will help us to realise how completely the *Kāśikā* relied on Patañjali for its material and its examples. The numerous illustrations in *Bhāṣya* on IV. 3.42 are bodily taken by the author of the *Kāśikā*, who did his work intelligently and not as a mere copyist of older material. In discussing the meaning of Prācya-Bharata,[117] the *Kāśikā* replaces *Auddālakāyana* of Patañjali by *Ārjunāyana*, which was the name of a tribe nearer to the period of the *Kāśikā* itself. The illustration *anu-Śākaṭāyanaṁ Vaiyākaraṇāḥ*,[118] 'all grammarians are inferior to Śākaṭāyana,' must belong to the very first stratum of examples, when Pāṇini was still considered a recent author and when he had not superseded the fame of his distinguished predecessor Śākaṭāyana. The adoption of that example in the *Kāśikā* even when Pāṇini had long risen to pre-eminent distinction, is proof enough, not only of the antiquity of the material at its disposal, but also of the tenacity with which the ancient tradition persisted.

Stock Examples: *Mūrdhābhiṣikta Udāharaṇa*.—Patañjali informs us that the sūtras were generally accompanied with stock illustrations technically known as *mūrdhābhiṣikta udāharaṇa*,[119] which according to Kaiyaṭa were so called as they were adopted in all the commentaries (*sarva-vṛttiṣūdāhṛtattvād*). They formed an essential part of the sūtra explanation, and were sometimes considered so important as to direct the course of subsequent discussions. The example *Śastrī-śyāmā* on II. 1.55 is a case in point which may be as old as Pāṇini himself as it was made by Kātyāyana the basis of a vārttika.[120]

---

[117] II. 4. 66.
[118] I. 4.86.
[119] I. 1.57 ; I.144.
[120] II. 398.

Pāṇini as a Teacher.—The sūtras concisely worded as they are stood in need of an explanation. Pāṇini as the sūtrakāra acted also as *ācārya* or teacher in respect of them. It stands to reason that he taught his pupils the treatise which he had systematised with such immense labour. The explanation which he gave to the rules must have become the archtype or pattern for later commentaries. The title Vṛttisūtra applied to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* by Patañjali[121] can only be justified by the existence of an earlier vṛtti or commentary on the sūtras. Patañjali tells us that Kautsa waited on Pāṇini as a disciple.[122] The *Kāśikā* supplements the information by adding that Kautsa resided with Pāṇini (*Anūṣivān*) and also recived instruction from him.[123] We do not know if this Kautsa ever wrote any thing on Pāṇini. But the fact is suggested that Pāṇini himself acted as a teacher in respect of the grand treatise which was his life work. Thus he became the source of a tradition of sūtra explanation handed down later on. We have a positive statement in the *Bhāṣya* which implies that Pāṇini himself expounded his sūtras to his pupils. Proposing two readings of the rule, I. 4.1, Patañjali asks why there should be a doubt as to the correct wording, and remarks :—

उभयथा ह्याचार्येण शिष्याः सूत्रं प्रतिपादिताः ।[124]

i.e, the teacher (Pāṇini) taught his pupils both the alternative forms of the sūtra. Even Kātyāyana was acquainted with this alternative form of the sūtra[125] for which he must have depended on some source earlier than himself, which probably was indebted to Pāṇini's own explanation of the grammatical rules. On sūtra V. 1. 50 the *Kāśikā* quotes an alternative explanation on the authority of an unnamed

[121] I. 371.

[122] *Upasedivān Kautsah Pāṇinim* II. 115.

[123] *Upaśuśruvān Kautsah Pāṇinim*, II. 2.108.

[124] *Bhāṣya*, I. 296.

[125] Cf. *vārttikas* I and 9 on I. 4.1

commentary (*aparā vṛtti*) which occasions the remark, सूत्रार्थद्वयमपि चैतदाचार्येण शिष्याः प्रतिपादिताः, i.e., both these explanations of the rule were taught by Pāṇini to his students. The same unnamed commentary (*aparā vṛtti*) further provides an optional, but equally authoritative explanation of sūtra V. 1. 94 (तदस्य ब्रह्मचर्यम्) on which the *Kāśikā* repeats the same statement (उभयं प्रमाणमुभयथा सूत्रप्रणयनात्) The case of sūtra V. 4. 21 is similar. These instances prove beyond doubt that Pāṇini became the originator of a tradition of sūtra explanation which was handed down through an unbroken succession of Pāṇinīya teachers and pupils, i.e., those who studied and those who knew the Pāṇinīya śāstra (तदधीते तद्वेद). This is in accord with the two other maxims in which all followers of the Pāṇinian system tacitly believe, viz., (१) प्रतिज्ञानुनासिक्याः पाणिनीयाः, and (२) प्रतिज्ञास्वरिताः पाणिनीयाः[126] These point to Pāṇinian tradition, transmitted not so much in black and white, as by oral instruction. Kaiyaṭa's commentary on a śloka-vārttika (तद्वनल्पमतेर्वचनं स्मरत),[127] admits the fact of the uninterrupted transmission of Pāṇini's treatise आगमस्य अविच्छेदमनेन दर्शयति and says that his own *Pradīpa* on the *Bhāṣya* was written in accordance with the tradition (यथागमं विधास्ये, Introductory verses).

Nature of the Earliest Vyākhyānas--Both Kātyāyana and Patañjali admit that the sūtras stood in need of an explanation (*vyākhyāna*) leading to the knowledge of words.[128] The earliest *vyākhyānas* were of a simple pattern intended to serve a practical end and were comprised of *carcā* (i.e., *pada-vigraha*), *udāharaṇa*, *pratyudāharaṇa* and *vākyādhyāhāra* (i.e. *anuvṛtti*).[129]

---

[126] *Kāśikā* on I. 3.2. and 11.

[127] I. 335, I. 4.5.

[128] नहि सूत्रत एव शब्दान् प्रतिपद्यन्ते, किं तर्हि ? व्याख्यानतश्च......न केवलानि चर्चापदानि व्याख्यानम्, वृद्धिः आत् ऐच् इति, किं तर्हि ? उदाहरणं प्रत्युदाहरणं वाक्याध्याहार इत्येतत् समुदितं व्याख्यानं भवति । *Bhāṣya*. I. 11.

[129] *Bhāṣya*, I. 11.

The explanations emanating from the Sūtrakāra himself or from those nearest to him in time must have been of this simple fabric. To them should be assigned illustrations like *anu-Śākaṭāyanam vaiyākaraṇāḥ,*[130] *Śākaṭāyana-putraḥ,*[131] *Nandaputraḥ,*[132] and *Nandopakramāni mānāni.*[133] Considerable historical value attaches to such early illustrations.

The antiquity and the genuineness of the Pāṇinian tradition are factors which must weigh with us in assessing the value of whatever commentaries are now left to us. Every commentary should be viewed as a link, and a very important link too, in the chain of Pāṇinian interpretation. Dr. Kielhorn examining the question of the earlier authorities quoted in the *Mahābhāṣya* made the significant recognition that Kātyāyana was acquainted with the works of other scholars who, before him, had tried both to explain and to amend Pāṇini's grammar, and who had subjected the wording of the Sūtras to that critical examination, which is so striking a feature of Kātyāyana's own Vārttikas,' and also that 'between him and Patañjali there intervene a large number of writers in prose and verse, individual scholars and schools of grammarians, who all have tried to explain and to amend the works of both Pāṇini and Kātyāyana.[134] The treatises of pre-Katyāyana vārttika writers and pre-Patañjali exponents of vārttikas typified by such names as the *Bhāradvājīyāḥ, Saunāgāḥ, Kroṣṭrīyāḥ*, or more faintly preserved in references like *Eke, Kecid, Apare*, have become mere shadows. But those ancient masters passed on the fruits of their labours to Kātyāyana and Patañjali. Again as observed by Kielhorn: 'To what extenr Kātyāyana and Patañjali were indebted to those that went

---

[130] I. 4.86.
[131] VI. 2.133.
[132] VI. 2,133 Referring to king Nanda and his son.
[133] II. 4.21.
[134] *Ind. Ant.* XVI. p. 106.

before them, we shall never know ; judging from the analogy of the later grammatical literature of India we may, in my opinion, certainly assume, that, like Pāṇini himself, *both have based their works on, and have preserved in them all that was valuable in the writings of their predecessors.*'[135] This considered opinion from one of the most eminent authorities of Pāṇini's grammar in modern times brings out the characteristic feature of the preservation of the Indian grammatical tradition from Pāṇini to Patañjali. We, may with equal soundness, apply the same principle to the growth of grammatical studies in the second period from the time of Patañjali to that of the *Kāśikā* which marks the end of the archaic period of Pāṇinian interpretation.

---

[135] *Ind. Ant.* XVI. p. 106, Italics ours.

ANŪPA-VILĀSA OR DHARMĀMBHODHI OF DĪKṢITA MAṆIRĀMA

By C. Kunhan Raja

Anūpavilāsa is a voluminous work on Dharma-Śāstra in seven sections. There is a very brief notice of it in the catalogue of the Library in the Bikaner Fort by Dr. R. L. Mitra (no.778, p. 360) and in Mm. P. V. Kane's *History of Dharma-Śāstra*, vol. I. p. 508. Through the kindness of the Maharaja of Bikaner I had an opportunity to examine the only manuscript of the work, which is available in the State Library. The Ms. of the first part is dated Saṃvat 1748. The first four sheets are missing and it begins:—शसनं चैवस्तु प्रभातस्ततः परम् ४२. This is the verse 42 in the beginning and here the *Anukramaṇikā* begins. There is a transcript of this prepared in Saṃvat 1901, *i.e.*, a century and a half after the original manuscript was written. This transcript starts with श्रीगणेशाय नमः। शसनं चैस्तु प्रतस्ततः परम् ४२. Even from this small bit, one can notice that the second transcript has made new mistakes. The leaf is marked 1. So, he could not have had access to the previous portion that is now missing. The first manuscript could not have been written much later than the actual date of the work. For the second part, there are two copies. The first copy is an old one; it contains only 50 sheets; the end is missing; as such the date of the manuscript is not known. The second copy is a later transcript; it is complete. It has 63 sheets. No date is given. For the third part also there are two manuscripts. The older manuscript does not have the first two sheets. The later one is complete. Neither of the manuscripts bears a date. The older manuscript has 75 sheets and the later one has 80. For the fourth section also there are two manuscripts. One is an old one

and is complete. There are 139 sheets. There is no date. The other has a slightly later appearance; yet it bears the date: Saṃvat 1747. It is complete and has 159 sheets. For the fifth part there are two manuscripts. One of them has 298 sheets and the other has 167 sheets. The latter bears the date Saṃvat 1747. Both of them are complete. The manuscript without the date appears to be older. For the remaining two parts, there is only one manuscript each. The manuscript for the sixth part is also complete, has 151 sheets and bears the date : 1621 Śaka and Saṃvat 1747. This is also found to be the date of the work. The manuscript for the seventh and the last section too is complete, has 65 sheets and bears the date: Saṃvat 1748.

Thus, except for the introductory matter, the work is complete. The first five sections are represented by duplicate manuscripts; of course, one is the copy of the other. One set is contemporaneous with the other, though the manuscripts do not note the author as also the owner, as in the case of many manuscripts in this collection.

The first section deals with Ācāra. There are 41½ verses missing in the beginning. This must include Maṅgala, Praśasti, Pratijñā, etc. The available portion starts with anukramanī, *i.e.*, the list of contents for the first section. It is as follows:—

प्रभात: (प्राभातिक्यं) तत: परम् ॥
कृतिर्मूत्रपुरीषस्य तत: शौचविधि: स्मृत: ।
आचान्तिर्दन्तकाषं च केशमार्ष्टि: शिखाविधि: ॥
प्रात:स्नानविधानं च सन्ध्योपास्तिरुषस्तनी ।
देवार्चनं तत: प्रोक्तं षोडशार्चाविधिर्हरे: ।
विधिर्निषेध: (निषिद्ध:) पुष्पाणां योगक्षेमविधिस्तत: ॥
स्नानं माध्याह्निकं चैव तिलकं सन्ध्यया सह ।
ब्रह्मयज्ञविधानं च तर्पणं तदनन्तरम् ॥
वैश्वदेवो भूतबलिर्नित्यश्राद्धं तत: परम् ।
अतिथे: पूजनं तद्वद्विमुखे दोषदर्शनम् ॥

भोजनस्य विधिश्चैव भक्ष्याभक्ष्यस्य निर्णयः ।।
बाडवादिस्मृतिश्चैव ताम्बूलप्राशने विधिः ।
सायं सन्ध्या ततः प्रोक्ता भोजनं च ततः पुनः ।।
शयनस्य विधिः पश्चादाह्निकोऽयं विधिक्रमः ।।
इत्याचाररत्नानुक्रमणिका । अथ सर्वोपयोगिनी परिभाषा निरुच्यते ।

The section ends:

गङ्गारामात्मजो धीमान् मणिरामो विमुक्तके ।
भूपानूपमुदेरत्नमाचारं समचीकरत् ।।

इति श्रीमद्राठौडकुलमङ्गलावाससकलविद्याविलासनिजकीर्तितुलितकैलास श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीमहाराजश्रीमदनूपविलासे धर्माम्भोधौ आचाररत्नं समाप्तम् । संवत् १७४८ मार्गशीर्ष वदि १४ रवि लिषतं आडुणीमध्ये श्री मालाकचर ।।

This is the date of the older manuscript, which has 78 sheets. The second manuscript has the date: संवत् १७-२०१ मीती आषाढ सुदि ४ वार गुरुवार । Then there is the figure 4000; evidently this is the number of *granthas*. There are 100 sheets here.

The second part begins:—

शिवप्रदं श्रीशिवदत्तशर्मणः
पुत्रस्य गङ्गोत्तररामनाम्नः ।।
प्रणम्य पादं मणिरामसंज्ञक-
स्तनोति रत्नं समयं सतां मुदे ।।
सुखावगमसिध्यर्थमत्रापि क्रम उच्यते ।
द्वितीये समयाख्ये तु रत्ने कालनिरूपणम् ।।
निर्णीयते तथैवास्य निर्णयत्वेन निर्णयः ।
प्रसङ्गात्तस्य तत्रैव मलत्वं च विविच्यते ।।
बालवृद्धाद्यवस्थायां कालश्च गुरुशुक्रयोः ।
तत्र चाकार्यकार्याणि तिथीनां वेधनिर्णयः ।।
अथैतासु च सर्वासु विधिः सामान्यतो व्रते ।
गृहीतव्रतसंत्यागे प्रायश्चित्तविवेचनम् ।।
तस्यैव चान्तरा पाते सूतकादौ विनिर्णयः ।
क्रियमाणे व्रतेऽस्मिश्च वर्ज्यावर्ज्यविनिर्णयः ।।
स्त्रियाः शूद्रस्य चाप्यत्र व्रतस्याचरणे विधिः ।
अनाज्ञप्तस्त्रियास्त्वत्र व्रते दोषस्य शंसनम् ।।
व्रतानां चैव संकल्पो व्रते कालस्य शोधनम् ।
स्वर्णादिप्रतिमापूजा तथैव द्विजभोजनम् ।।

व्रतस्योद्यापन तत्र दक्षिणादाननिर्णयः।
तद्दिने भक्ष्यजातानि वर्ज्यानि विहितानि च॥
हविष्यादेर्विधिस्तत्र तथा प्रतिनिधेर्विधिः।
व्रतानां सन्निपाते च विधिरत्र विविच्यते॥
उच्यते तेषु चैतावदेकभक्तव्रते विधिः।
विधिर्नक्तव्रते चापि तथा चायाचितव्रते॥
विविच्यते तथैवात्र नक्षत्रव्रतके विधिः।
एतेषामङ्गतापन्नास्तिथयो दश पञ्च च॥
निर्णीता अपि सामान्यान्निर्णीयन्ते विशेषतः।
प्रतिपन्निर्णयः पूर्वं द्वितीयानिर्णयस्ततः॥
तृतीयातुर्यतिथ्योश्च पञ्चम्याश्च विनिर्णयः।
षष्ठीनिर्णय उद्दिष्टः सप्तमीनिर्णयस्तथा॥
अष्टमीनवमीतिथ्योर्दशम्याश्च विनिर्णयः॥
एकादशी ततो यत्नाद्विशेषेण विचार्यते॥
विविच्यते च तत्रापि वैष्णवस्मार्तयोर्विधिः।
विधवाया विधिः कृष्णे ततः पुत्रवतो विधिः॥
विविच्यते तथैवास्या नित्यता काम्यतापि च।
सर्वथा हेयता वेधे ततो दोषः प्रदर्श्यते॥
अलाभे लोपतस्तस्याः प्रतिप्रसव उच्यते।
विविच्यते तथैवात्र श्राद्धप्राप्तौ विधिक्रमः॥
विशिष्यते तु संकल्पस्तथा च हरिपूजनम्॥
वर्जिताचरणे चात्र प्रायश्चित्तं विविच्यते।
सूतकादौ समुत्पन्ने निर्णयश्च ततः परम्॥
श्रवणद्वादशीयोगे व्रतस्याचरणे विधिः।
निर्णीयतेऽष्टधा चात्र द्वादशीपारणे व्रते॥
निर्णीयते त्वशेषेण यत्नतः पारणाविधिः।
प्रमादातिक्रमे तस्या विधिरप्यनुकल्पतः॥
द्वादश्याश्च त्रयोदश्याश्चतुर्दश्यास्तु निर्णयः।
अथामानिर्णये तावत् क्रियते श्राद्धनिर्णयः॥
पितृयज्ञे विधिस्तत्र तथा साग्निनिरग्नितः।
निर्णयोऽनुपनीतस्याप्यधिकारो विविच्यते॥
श्राद्धत्यागेऽधिकारोऽपि प्रायश्चित्तं तथोच्यते।
अथात्र ग्रहणे राहोर्भोजने विधिविस्तरः॥
पर्वणश्च तथाधाने कालस्य च विनिर्णयः।
संक्रान्तिनिर्णयश्चाथ नदीनां च रजोविधिः॥

सिंहादिके गवादेश्च प्रसवे शान्तिरुत्तमा।
इत्येतत्समये रत्ने क्रम उक्तो मयाखिलः ॥
इत्यनुक्रमणिका ॥

At the end of the section there is the following: इति श्रीमद्राठौरकुलमङ्गलावाससकलविद्याविलासनिजकीर्तितुलितकैलासश्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजमहाराजश्रीमदनूपसिंहकारिते मिश्रश्रीशिवदत्तपुत्रमिश्रगणरामात्मजदीक्षितमणिरामकृते श्रीमदनूपविलासे धर्माम्भोधौ समयाख्यं रत्नं समाप्तम् ॥
There is written below: ग्र. 400. This is the number of *granthas* in the section.

The third part begins:—

उक्तं समयरत्नं तु संस्कारं रत्नमुच्यते ।
मणिरामेन सुधिया भूपानूपविलासके ॥
ते च संस्काराश्चत्वारिंशत्। तत्र सुमन्तुः।

The enumeration of the Saṃskāras according to various authorities is dealt with in the beginning and each is taken up in the order of गर्भाधान, पुंसवन etc. At the end of each such sub-section there is the colophon : इति श्रीमदनूपविलासे धर्माम्भोधौ मिश्रगङ्गारामात्मजदीक्षितमणिरामविरचिते गर्भाधानम् । Then the next sub-section starts : अथ पुंसवनम्। There is slight variation in the colophon; it is only in very minor details.

The section ends : ततः शालाप्रतिष्ठान्ते द्विजेभ्यो भूयसीं दक्षिणां दद्यात्। ततो यथाशक्ति ब्राह्मणभोजनं कारयित्वा सबन्धुर्भुञ्जीत। इति श्रीराठौरकुलमुकुटमणिश्रीमहाराजाधिराजमहाराज-अनूपसिंहकारिते दीक्षितमणिरामकृते श्रीमदनूपविलासे धर्माम्भोधौ शालाप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोगः। समाप्त संस्काररत्नम्।

The fourth section begins :—

नत्वा श्रीरघुनाथपादयुगलं विघ्नेशवाण्यौ तथा।
तातं चापि महामतिं बुधसदः पूज्यं जगद्बोधकम् ॥
राज्ञः श्रीमदनूपसिंहकृतिनः कीर्त्यै मया तन्यते।
रत्नं वत्सरकृत्यनाम रुचिरं प्रीत्यै सतां सर्वतः॥

तत्र यद्यपि वत्सरारम्भः शुक्लादिनैव सर्वत्रोक्तः तथापि कृष्णादिना व्यवहारात्।
तिथिकृत्ये च कृष्णादिं व्रते शुक्लादिमेव च।
विवाहादौ च सौरादिं मासं कृत्ये विनिर्दिशेत्॥

इति ब्रह्मपुराणात् वत्सरकृत्ये च बहुधा तिथिकृत्यात् माध्यंदिनकृतौ कृष्णादिनैवोक्तत्वाच्च कृष्णादिना वत्सरकृत्यमारभ्यते। तत्रादौ चैत्रमास कृत्यं भविष्यति।

The section ends thus: अत्र दोलोत्सवः कार्यः। तदुक्तं कृत्यचिन्तामणौ ब्राह्मे।

नरो दोलागतं दृष्ट्वा गोविन्दं पुरुषोत्तमम्।
फाल्गुन्यां संयतः सो हि गोविन्दस्यपुरं व्रजेत्॥

इति। इति फाल्गुनकृत्यम्। इति श्रीमद्राठौरवंशचूडामणिश्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजमहाराजश्रीमदनूपसिंहदेवकारिते मिश्रशिवदत्तात्मजमिश्रगङ्गारामात्मजदीक्षितमणिरामकृते श्रीमदनूपविलासे धर्माम्भोधौ वत्सररत्नं समाप्तम्।

In one of the two manuscripts, which appears later, there is the further entry:

संवत् १७४७ समए नाम भादी शुदी चतुर्थीवारबुधवारके पुस्तकं संपूर्णम्।

This must be the date of the transcript. If this is the original of the author and the date is that of the work itself, the other copy, which appears older, is a later transcript.

The fifth section begins:—

हेरम्बशङ्करयुतां जगदीश्वरीं तां
नत्वा मुनींश्च जगदुद्धरणे समर्थान्।
काश्यां करोति मणिरामसुधीः सुबोधं
दानाख्यरत्नमिदमाशु नृपस्य तुष्ट्यै॥
सुखावगमसिद्धयर्थं दानरत्ने क्रमो यथा।
दानप्रशंसा प्रथमं तद्विघ्ने दोषदर्शनम्॥
सामान्यतो दानफल तत्स्वरूपं ततः परम्।
कृत्यं प्रतिग्रहीतुश्च ततो द्रव्यस्य देवनाः॥
रूपं प्रतिग्रहीतुश्च ततो पात्रस्वरूपना।
दानाङ्गकथनं चैव स्वरूपं दातुरेव च॥
दुष्टदातृस्वरूपं च दानाङ्गद्रव्यकीर्तनम्।
अदेयद्रव्यकथनं कालं दाने तथैव तु॥
दाने निषिद्धकालं च दाने देशस्य कीर्तनम्।
ततो दानविधिः प्रोक्तः सामान्येनैव सर्वदा॥
तुलाप्रभृति दानानि महादानानि षोडश।
ततस्त्रीण्यतिदानानि क्रमस्तस्य तु वै शृणु॥
सामान्यगोदानविधिः कपिलायास्ततः परम्।
संक्षिप्तगोदानविधिस्ततस्तु द्विमुखीविधिः॥

पञ्चधेनोर्विधिस्तत्र वैतरण्या विशेषतः ।
सगर्भगोप्रदानस्य सङ्ग्रामार्जितगोस्तथा ॥
द्यूतार्जितधनक्रीतगोदानस्य विधिस्तथा ।
गुडधेन्वादिदानस्य विधिस्तु तदनन्तरम् ॥
दशवर्णगवीदानविधिः प्रोक्तस्ततः परम् ।
वन्ध्यादोषप्रशमनं स्वर्णधेनुविधिस्ततः ॥
दशधेन्वादिदानस्य विधिर्भूमेस्ततः परम् ।
गृहदानविधिं चैव पर्वतानां तथा विधिम् ॥
विद्यादानविधिं चैव कूर्मोक्तं दशदानकम् ।
कनकाश्वतिलानागादासीदासमहीगृहाः ।
कन्या च कपिला धेनुर्महादानानि वै दश ॥

इति कूर्मपुराणोक्तानि ॥

स्वर्णादिपात्रदानं तु जलदानं ततः परम् ।
रत्नदानं ततः प्रोक्तं घृतपात्राद्यनन्तरम् ॥
दानं कृष्णाजिनस्योक्तं ततो दुग्धघटस्य तु ।
ततः कुबेरमूर्तेस्तु दानं दारिद्र्यनाशकम् ॥
नेत्ररोगहरं दानं गरुडस्य ततः परम् ।
जलकुम्भप्रदानं च स्वर्गलोकस्य भोगदम् ॥
आत्मप्रतिकृतेर्दानं ततः प्रोक्तं महत्फलम् ॥
सर्वरोगप्रशमनं दानं प्रोक्तं ततोऽश्विनोः ।
अग्निमान्द्यप्रशमनं मेषदानं ततः परम् ॥
ततस्त्रिमूर्तिदानं तु ततस्तिथ्यादिदानकम् ॥
ततो वस्त्रस्य दानं तु शय्यादानं ततः परम् ।
ततो वितानदानं तु गन्धदानं ततः परम् ॥
ताम्बूलदानं तु तत आदर्शस्य ततः परम् ।
व्यञ्जनादेस्ततो दानं भाण्डदानं ततः परम् ॥

इत्यनुक्रमणिका। दाने परिभाषाया आवश्यकत्वात् झटिति ज्ञानार्थमत्रापि आदौ परिभाषा लिख्यते।

The section ends : इति नानाविधानि दानानि समाप्तानि। विशेषो हेमाद्र्यादौ द्रष्टव्यः । इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीमहाराज अनूपसिंहदेवकारिते मिश्रशिवदत्तात्मजमिश्रगङ्गारामात्मजदीक्षितमणिरामकृते श्रीमदनूपविलासे धर्माम्भोधौ दानरत्नं समाप्तम्। One of the manuscripts, which appears newer, has the date संवत् 1747. The manuscript without date has the outer cover the following entry, ग्रं 4500, evidently the number of *granthas* in the section.

The sixth section begins :—

मिताक्षरादिकान् ग्रन्थान् दृष्ट्वा सत्संप्रदायतः ।
मणिरामेण सुधिया शुद्धिरत्नं वितन्यते ॥

शुद्धिस्तु अखिलविहितकर्मापादको धर्मविशेष इति ज्ञेयम् । सा च शरीरनिष्ठा । अत आदौ शरीरशुद्धिरुच्यते । सा च पञ्चधा । तथा च यमः ।

Each sub-sechon ends with a colophon: इति श्रीमदनूपविलासे धर्माम्भोधौ शुद्धिरत्ने देहशुद्धिः । And the next section begins: अथ स्त्रीशुद्धिः There are minor sub-divisions which are marked as: इति पतिव्रताधर्माः । अथ रजस्वलाधर्माः ।

The section ends:

वर्षत्रयपर्यन्तं श्राद्धकरणप्रकारे कात्यायनः । अशुद्धेषु तु श्राद्धेषु विप्रो भोक्ता न जायते । विप्रं कुशमयं कृत्वा पात्रे कव्यं निवेदयेत् ॥ इति । इत्यादिवचनदर्शनात् सूत्रकारस्य आशयाच्च चतुर्थे पाश्चात्यानां शुद्धश्राद्धाचारः प्रामाणिक एव । तथा च तत्रापि गरुड-पुराणोक्तसामग्रीकं त्रयोदशपददानं कर्तव्यम् । अन्यदपि देशाचारानुसारेण सर्वं कर्तव्यम् । इत्यलं विचारेण । इति शुद्धश्राद्धविचारः । इति श्रीमिश्रशिवदत्तसूनुमिश्रगङ्गारामात्मज-दीक्षितमणिरामकृते श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजमहाराजश्रीमदनूपसिंहदेवकारिते श्रीमदनूप-विलासे धर्माम्भोधौ शुद्धिरत्नं समाप्तम् ।

नासत्याङ्गरसेन्दु (१६१२) सम्मितशके ऋष्यब्धिसप्तेन्दुके (१७४७)
वर्षे फाल्गुनशुक्लपञ्चमतिथौ वारे शनौ त्वाष्ट्रभे ।
गङ्गारामतनूद्भवेन कृतिना काश्यां सतां तोषकृद्
ग्रन्थोऽयं मणिरामदीक्षितमहीदेवेन पूर्णः कृतः ।

From this colophon, it is certain that this is the end of the work and that the date 1747 Saṃvat represents the date of the composition of the work. Thus we can conclude that the manuscripts bearing the date 1747 are contemporaneous with the author. The other copies must be the originals written by the author; in appearance, the latter are older.

There is the entry ग्र 3100, evidently the number of *granthas* in the section. There is also the entry शुद्धिरत्न ६

The next section begins :—

कात्यायनमुनिप्रोक्तश्राद्धसूत्राविरोधिनी ।
पद्धतिर्मणिरामेण तन्यते शिष्टसम्मता ॥

तत्र श्राद्धं द्विविधम् । सपात्रकं अपात्रकं च । यत्र निमन्त्रणपूर्वकं ब्राह्मणमुपवेश्य तस्मै पादार्घदानादिपूर्वकं यच्छ्राद्धं तत् सपात्रकम् । तस्यैव हस्तश्राद्धं इति नाम । यत्र तु ब्राह्मणालाभे दर्भदण्डं संस्थाप्य यच्छ्राद्धं तदपात्रकं इति ज्ञेयम् ।

The work ends :--

प्रमादात् कुर्वतां कर्म प्रच्यवेताध्वरेषु यत्। स्मरणादेव तद्विष्णोः संपूर्णं स्यादिति श्रुतिः॥

इति पठित्वा विष्णुं स्मरेत्। नित्यश्राद्धीयमन्नं ब्राह्मणाय प्रतिपादयेत्। जले वा क्षिपेत्। इति नित्यश्राद्धप्रयोगः। इति श्राद्धरत्ने सांवत्सरिकश्राद्धाद्युत्तरक्रियाप्रयोगाः समाप्ताः। इति श्रीदीक्षितमणिरामकृते श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीमदनूपसिंहदेवकारिते श्रीमदनूपविलासे धर्माम्भोधौ श्राद्धरत्नं समाप्तम्। समाप्तश्चायं धर्माम्भोधिग्रन्थः॥

There is the further entry: संख्या २१०००. This is evidently the number of *granthas* in all the seven sections together. The number of *granthas* in this particular section is given as 1600 on the outer cover. The entry proceeds : हजार। लिखि आप ता त्रिभिः कायस्थैः। संवत् १७४२ वैशा० व० ५।

Although the colophon at the end of the sixth section clearly shows that the work ended there, yet I cannot ignore the entry at the end of that section, which clearly mentions this as a part of the entire work; and this is not a later manuscript. It is contemporaneous with the author. For this reason, I started in the beginning that the work consists of seven sections. Perhaps we can take the श्राद्धरत्न which is the seventh, as an appendix to the main work in six sections.

The author Maṇirāma Dikṣita is an erudite scholar, a versatile genius, a writer on a variety of subjects and an acknowledged authority in his time. In the Bikaner State Library there are many works written by him and also many manuscripts which belonged to him. He was patronised by Maharaja Anupasinghji of Bikaner who reigned from 1669 to 1698. He was a Viceroy in the Deccan during the reign of Emperor Shahjahan and a trusted friend of the Emperor.

From the brief description of the work, it would be found that the *Dharmāmbhodhi* is a comprehensive work on Dharmaśāstra. The manuscripts available in the Bikaner Library were transcribed at the time when the work was actually written also. The manuscript is complete except for the introductory portion, which must have been missing at least for a century now.

THE PURĀṆIC DATE OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

By M. RAJA RAO

1. Estimates of the date of the Mahābhārata war range from 5306 B.C. to 950 B. C. In his celebrated *History of Hindu Astronomy* (pp. 115-124) S.B. Dikshit has argued out in detail that the conflicting statements in the Udyoga and Bhīṣma Parvas could be reconciled on the supposition that each of the astronomical events has been assigned two *nakṣatras*—one *Sāyana* (corresponding to the European zodiacal signs counted from a continually shifting first point of Aries) and the other, Nirayana, (corresponding to the fixed zodiacal constellations). They form part of the periodical conundrums which the divine scribe Lord Gaṇapati had to solve before he could proceed with his manuscript, to the dictation of Śri Vyāsa. Dikshit found by calculation that the *Sāyana nakṣatras* corresponded to a first point of Aries (vernal Equinox) that coincided with the zero of the constellation of *Punarvasu* in 5306 B. C. The second set of *nakṣatras* indicate the actual star—group near which any given *Sāyana* division lay. The corresponding *Sāyana* and *Nirayana* positions were as follows—Sun :—i. *Viṣākhā* (*Sāyana*), ii *Śatabhiṣag* (*Nirayana*); Moon—i. *Anurādhā*, ii. Śatabhiṣag; Mercury—i. Viśakhā, ii. Dhaniṣṭhā; Venus—*Jyeṣṭhā*, ii. *Pūrva-bhādrapada*; Mars—i. *Maghā*, ii. *Anurādhā*, Jupiter—i. *Svāti*, ii. *Sravaṇā* ; Saturn—i. *Citrā*, ii. *Uttara-aṣāḍhas*; *Rāhu*—i. *Anurādhā*, ii. *Śatabhiṣag*. The aim of the eminent astronomer was more the refutation of the views put forward by Mr. Lele than a serious attempt to establish a date which differed so much from the traditional date 3102 B.C. The *Mahābhārata* mentions that the Kaliyuga commenced with the death of Kṛṣṇa and abdication of Yudhiṣṭhira, 36 years after the war. Dr. D.S. Triveda

bases his opinion, on this statement and assigns the date B.C. 3137.[1] Bhaṭṭotpala, Kalhaṇa and Āryabhaṭṭa, assign the date 2448 B. C. This estimate is based on the verse in the Bṛhat-saṁhitā, of Varāhamihira about the *saptarṣis* having been in *Maghā* in Yudhiṣṭhira's reign.[2] Bhaṭṭotpala quotes a verse from Vṛddha-Garga stating merely that the *Munayāh* were in *Pitṛ-daivatam* (*Maghā*) ; no dates are given, in that verse. It is not clear whether the date 2526 was inserted by Varāhamihira had been already mentioned by Vṛddha-Garga himself. If the computation is attributed to Garga, then the *Śaka-kāla* referred to in the verse—

Āsan saghāsu munaya Śāsati Pṛthivīm Yudhiṣṭhire nṛpatau,
Ṣaḍ dwika pañca dwi yuta śakakālah tasya rājñaśca.

could not be that of Śālivāhana, since even the younger Garga lived prior to the Christian Era. Vaidya and Gopala Aiyar suggested that the śāka was that of Buddha Nirvāṇa, 543 B.C. Interpreting the numerals as indicating 2566, and adding 543 to it, Vaidya derived the date B. C. 3109 for Yudhiṣṭhira. Gopala Aiyar interpreted the numerals to indicate the product 25 × 26 or 630 and adding 543 arrived at the date 1193 B.C. On the other hand, if the date 2526 was computed by Varāhamihira, then the second line of the verse would mean either that Yudhiṣṭhira ruled 2526 years before Śālivāhana śāka, i.e., in 2448 B.C., or that the *Bṛhatsamhitā* was written in the year 2526 of Yudhiṣṭhira śāka. If we assign the date 560 A.D. for Varāhamihira, we get the date (2526-560) 1966 B.C for Yudhiṣṭhira. Dr. R. Shama Sastry points out that the term Śāka as a synonym for the word '*Era*' came into general use only after the rule of the Andhras.

---

[1] *Journal of Indian History*, Madras XVI, pp. 239, 248 ; Kane vol. 1951 pp. 515,-525.

[2] *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, Chap. 13; verse 3; Kalhaṇa, *Rajatarangiṇi* Bk. I, 55-56

Megasthenes has mentioned that 153 kings intervened between Dionysus and Sandrokottos, according to the tradition current in India at the time and that Heracles is believed to have ruled 15 generations after Dionysus. Vaidya allots an average of 20 years to the 138 generations between Heracles whom he identifies with Sri Kṛṣṇa and *Candragupta*. So Kṛṣṇa lived (138 × 20 plus 320, i.e., 2760 plus 320) about 3080 B. C.[3] K. P. Jayaswal deduces the date 1424 B. C. from the statement of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* that 1015 years intervened between the birth of Parīkṣit and the coronation of Mahāpadma. (409 plus 1015). V. Rangachari seems to concur with him.[4] Pargiter calculates 37 generations between Parīkṣita and Nanda ; assigns an average of 15 years and arrives at the date 980 B. C. (37 × 15 plus 325 plus 100 gives 555 years between Parīkṣita and Mahāpadma, 100 years for the Nandas, and 325 B. C. for Candragupta). Gopala Aiyar uses the same data to arrive at his figure 1193 B. C. He allots an average of 22 years to the 37 generations, 64 years to the Nandas, and B. C. 315 to Candragupta. In the *Annual Report* of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1927 A.D.[5], Dr. R. Shāma Sastry, the then Director has expressed his view, based on the archaic style of the *Mahābhārata* and also certain astronomical references in it, that the war probably took place about 1200 B. C. Dr. M. H. Krishna, the present Director, seems to hold the same view.

2. In his learned article on *Some Problems of Indian Chronology*, in *the Annals, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* for 1930-31 vol. xii part 4., Mr. K.G. Sankar, B.A.B.L., has shown that the year 1198 B.C. satisfies most of the requirements of the astronomical references contained in the

[3] Vaidya : *A Criticism of the Mahābhārata* pp. 80-90.

[4] V Rangachari : *Pre-Musalman India*, vol. I, chapter 2 gives a masterly summary of the views of the several scholars.

[5] pp. 8-15.

Udyoga and *Bhīṣma Parvas*. Though one may not accept his arguments or the data by which he arrives at his figure, 1198 B.C., he deserves felicitations for the discovery of a date, which tallies, as I shall demonstrate presently, to a remarkable degree with the astronomical data. The coincidence is indeed so complete that there is no doubt that whoever introduced the astronomical references into the text, he based his statements on actual observation of Planetary positions in 1198 B.C. Those who are inclined to hold the view that the Bhārata war must have taken place about 1200 B.C. will find in it a conclusive proof of the correctness of their opinion. Those who are disposed to assign the war to a very much earlier date than 1200 B.C., will look upon it as the date when, as pointed out by Dr. R. Shama Sastry, the old *Gathā-ic* account of the war was transformed into Epic form and the *Anuṣṭup Śloka* metre. The original astronomical references that were quite consistent with the actual conditions when the war was fought, were retained on account of the sanctity attached to them by tradition, and were supplemented by others that were actually observed at the time the original narrative was recast into classical Sanskrit. At any rate, the nucleus of the text of the *Mahābhārata* cannot be dated later than the twelfth century B.C. Tradition traces it back to 3102 B.C. The Purāṇas take it back to 2000 B.C. The problem reminds me of the "Wise men and the Chameleon." Before I proceed to the exposition of my own views in the matter based on certain statements in the Purāṇaṣ the full significance of which has not been properly essayed, I shall demonstrate the faithfulness with which the aspects of the sky have been delineated by the poet of the *Mahābhārata*. The following statements can be attributed to the poet—astronomer of 1198 B. C. (*Vide Dikshit's Astro.*)

A. i. *Prajāsaṃbharaṇe rājan Somam sapta grahā iva*. (Droṇa. Ch. 37—vs. 22). ii. *Nihsaranto vyadṛṣyanta sūryāt sapta*

mahāgrahāh. (Karṇa. Ch 37—vs. 4). iii. *Rākṣasam dudurvuh sankhye grahāh pañca ravim yathā*. (Bhīṣma Ch. 100—vs. 37). iv. *Maghā viṣagah Somah tad dinaṃ pratyapadyata; dipyamānaśca sampetur divi sapta mahāgrahāh*. (Bhīṣma. Ch. 17--vs. 2) Position of Planets at sunrise (eclipsed) on New-moon of *Mārgaśīṣra*. (Paurṇimānta) on 21 October 1198 B.C. (*Indian Ephemeris* of D. B. S. Pilla). (Sun 224), (Moon 224), (Mars 217), (Mercury 226), (Jupiter 216), (Venus 236), (Saturn 215), (Rāhu 230), (Comet 229), v. *Sweto grahāhprajvalitāh sadhūma iva pāvakah*; *Aindram tejasvīnakṣatram Jyeṣṭham akramya tiṣṭhati*. (Bhiṣma. Ch. iii--vs. 16). All the *seven planets* were found within a compass of 20 degrees.

N.B.—The longitudes are expressed in degrees measured from the zero of Aśvinī, along the ecliptic. The *nakṣatra* division *Jyeṣṭhā* extends from 227 to 240. The *yoga-tara Jyeṣṭhā* stands at 229 ; Anurādhā at 224.

B. Planetary conjunctions two or three at a time. i. *Tatah samabhavat yuddhaṃ Śukrangirasavarcasoh* (*Drouṇyarjunayoh*) *nakṣatram abhito vyomni śukra-angirasayor iva*. (Karṇa Ch. 18—vs. 1.). About the time of *Puṣya* new-moon (30 days later), the retrograde Venus and Jupiter were in conjunction : Jupiter (222,) Venus (223.) ii. *Bhṛguṣūnū Dharāputrau Śaśijena samanvitau* (Śalya, Ch. 11, vs-18). Venus (228); Mars (231); Mercury (222), on the day of Śalya's death. iii. Three months later, Mercury and Saturn were simultaneously retrograde. *Lokatrāsakarāvāstam* (*Drouṇyarjunau*) *vimārgasthau grahauiva*. (Karṇa. Ch. 18—vs. 2.).

C. Two eclipses at an interval of thirteen days. (Bhīṣma, Ch. 3.). i. *Rāhuśca agrasat ādityam aparvani viśāmpate*. (Sabhā. Ch. 79-19).

There was a solar eclipse about sunrise on 9th August 1213 B.C. and a lunar eclipse at moon-set on 22nd August 1213 B.C. August 9 is counted as new-moon. August 22, fullmoon, will be thirteenth day. (*Candrasūryau ubhau grastau ekamāsi trayodaśīm*. Bhīṣma. Ch. iii-32).

D. *Samvatsarasasthāyinau ca grahau prajvalitau ubhau Viśāyāḥ sampasthau Bṛhaspatiśanaiścarau*. (Bhīṣma iii-27.). Ch. Jupiter and Saturn were together near Visaka for about a year. B.C. 1199 Solar Year 330th day ...... B.C. 1198. 230th day. Jupiter 203 (retrogression began). Jupiter 216 (direct), Saturn at 212 (retrogression began). Saturn 215 (direct).

N.B.—*Viśakā* extends from 200 to 213.

E. *Maghāsu Aṅgārako vakraḥ, Śravaṇe ca Bṛhaspatiḥ*. (Bhīṣma. Ch. iii-14). In 1195 B.C. three years later, Mars began to trace back at 131 (Maghā), and Jupiter at 300 (Dhaniṣṭhā).

3. The purāṇas are the only available source of information about the several dynastics of kings that ruled in India in Pre-Buddhistic times. The legendary period of Indian History ends and the historical stage begins with the Mahābhārata war. Until the Indus Valley seals are deciphered, rightly interpreted, and properly co-ordinated, it may not be possible to state definitely when the legendary period terminated. Opinion is widely divergent as to circumstances that assigned the commencement of the Kali-yuga to 3102 B.C. Speculations are rife regarding the duration of the four *Yugas* from the historian's point of veiw as contrasted with that of the astronomer. The Purāṇas and the Itihāsas (*Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*) distinguish between *Mānuṣī* and Divine *yugas*. Any attempt, (like that of Mr. K.G. Sankar in the article referred to already) to base chronology on speculations about the historical aspects of *Catur-yugas* and *Manvantaras* is likely to land us in inconsistencies. Astronomical data, unless they

are corrborated by epigraphic evidence, are equally misleading, since astronomical events repeat themselves at regular intervals. Tradition loses in definition and gains in distortion as time rolls on. Whereas the statements of the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* are more guarded, those of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* are more dogmatic. Except in a single instance, the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* does not attempt to correlate two or more dynasties. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* sums up at the several stages and commits the error of describing contemporary dynasties as successive. Dynasties that dovetail into one another are placed end to end in time. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* postulates an interval of 1400 years between the close of the Andhra dynasty and the time of the Purāṇa, coinciding with that of *kalki*. Except in the case of the Bṛhadrathas, Pradyotas and Sisunāgas who are stated to have ruled in succession, all other dynasties that preceded the Mauryas are described as collateral and co-extensive. Some of them belong to the legendary period, and their lineage ended at the time of Mahāpadma, who is likened ro Paraśurāma, the exterminator of all Kṣatriyas. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* (Ch. 98—vs 303) clearly states that the Bṛhadrathas were followed by the Vīta-hotras. When a few Vīta-botras had ruled, Munika, the Pradyota killed his master and installed his son. The verse seems to imply that it was Pālaka, Pradyota's son, that ignored or set aside his master and began to rule in his own name. Five of them ruled in succession until, in their turn, they were displaced by the Śiśunāgas. All the Purāṇas, concur in allotting 1,000 years, to Bṛhadrathas, 138 years to the Pradyotas and 362 years to the Śiśunāgas. None of them has stated how many years the Vītahotras ruled who immediately succeeded the last Bṛhadratha king, up to the time they were displaced by Pradyota. The Purāṇas declare that there ruled twenty kings of that line. We can allot 400 years to the whole dynasty. Let us assume that the line commenced after the last Bṛhadratha. According to the *Vāyu*, the number of kings from Pradyota

to Mahāpadma was fifteen. Supposing that fifteen out of the twenty Vītahotras ruled in a subordinate capacity under the Pradyotas and Śiśunāgas five of them at least should have ruled as independent kings. The period of 138 years usually alotted to the Pradyotas could be transferred to them. The Jaina accounts agree in stating that Pālaka was crowned on the day of *Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa*, in B. C. 526. So even if we should ignore the ñiśunāgas altogether, the Bṛhadratha line should have continued down to B. C. 664. The 32 kings of the Bṛhadratha dynasty who are described as having ruled for an aggregate period of 1000 years are clearly designated by the *Vāyu Purāṇa* "*Bhavitārah*," future kings. Since the post-Bhārata list includes only 22 names, scholars have been forced to borrow 10 names from the pre-war period. Various expedients are adopted to bring the equal average to the standard of 20 or even 15 years. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* clearly states that only prominent kings are mentioned in the lists, which are therefore incomplete. The descent is not throughout from father to son. Wherever we come across an unusually long reign, we can be sure that the grandson succeeded in the absence of the son. Their united reigns represent three generations. Like the Hoysalas, some of them might have continued the era of their predecessors. Moreover, the son did not always get the throne. That member of the king's family who was regarded as best fitted for kingship succeeded to the throne by election. It is also quite possible that there were breaks due to temporary usurpation or formation of republics. Buddha's father is said to have served as president of a republic. (Vairājya.) The actual number of generations covered by the dynasty will be therefore greater than the number of kings named. If we take all these factors into account, there is nothing inherently improbable for the dynasty to have occupied 1000 years. So

the latest date for the Bhārata war works out at 1664 B. C. Even the period of 723 years which some scholars are inclined to assign to the Bṛhadrathas will take us back to the 14th. century B. C. i.e., 1387 B. C. and not to 1200 B. C. It has become a fashion to discredit Hindu and Jaina traditions when they are not in accord with Buddhistic traditions imported from abroad. Purāṇic accounts have been mutilated to make them conform to foreign chronicles and preconceived opinions. In spite of errors due to faults of transcription and regional and tribal variations, the Purāṇic dynastic lists have been substantiated by epigraphic evidence whenever available. In his *Catalogue of Indian coins*, (pp. xxvi and LXV) Rapson has testified to the reliability of the Purāṇas regarding the Andhra dynasty. "There is no reason to doubt that the long period for which the testimony of inscriptions and coins scarcely exists, was actually occupied by the reigns recorded in the Purāṇas." I am therefore inclined to accept the Purāṇic statement that an interval of about 1500 years lay between the birth of Parīkṣita and the coronation of Mahāpadma even though some of the names might have got transposed as a result of flux of time. The Purāṇas assign a period of 100 years to the Nanda dynasty. The Buddhist Chronicles, the Mahāvamśa and the Dīpavamśa assign only 22 years. Mahāpadma is depicted as a robber cheiftain. The Purāṇas rate him as a powerful sole monarch. (*Ekachatrādhipati*). Cāṇakya or Kauṭilya is reported not only to have wrested the kingdom from the Nandas after a struggle extending over 12-16 years, but to have ruled himself. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* uses the expression: *Uddhariṣyati tān sarvān Kauṭilyo vai dwiraṣṭabhih; Bhuktvā mahīm varṣa śatam Nandenduh sa bhaviṣyati.* He is described as the best of the Nandas. The *Matsya Purāṇa* states: *Uddhariṣyati Kauṭilya sama dwādaśabhih sutān; bhuktvā mahīm varṣa śatam tato Mauryān gamiṣyati.* The Burmese legend of Buddha, the *Malla-linkara*, (*Brigandet*, pp. 125—128 vol. ii), informs us

that Cāṇakya discovered signs of kingship in himself and it was his mother's timely advice that prevented his giving outward expression to it; that Candragupta was purchased by him and trained for kingship. It is therefore not improbable that he satisfied his early ambition by ruling the kingdom in his own name before he installed Candragupta. The experience of statecraft that he thus gained at first hand enabled him to produce the *Artha-śāstra*, under the pen-name Kauṭilya. Viṣṇucitti, the commentator of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, informs that Kauṭilya, Cānnkaya, Viṣṇu-gupta, and Vātsyayana were the names of one and the same person, the patron of Candragupta. The *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya has another curious legend about the Nandas. Mahāpadma was succeeded by an impostor who called himself Yogānand or (Nava) Neo-Nanda out of which grew the legend of the Nine (Nava) Nandas. It was Cāṇakya who overthrew him and restored the kingship to the heir, Candragupta. Whatever it may be, there was an *inter-regnum* between the last Nanda and Cāṇakya. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* assigns 28 years to Mahāpadma and 12 years to his eight sons in succession. The next sixty years might have been taken up by Cāṇakya's personal rule and the upheaval caused by Alexander's invasion. Anyhow the period of 22 years allotted by the Buddhistic chronicles to the Nanda dynasty does not seem to be correct. The history of the period is shrouded in mystery.

4. The Purāṇas have not attempted to state the regnal years of kings that flourished before the Bhārata war. Fuller information has been furnished regarding the kings that followed the war. They are divided roughly into two groups. The first group lasted down to Mahāpadma, and are said to belong to the original Kṣatriya stock, pure and mixed. The second group was constituted by Śūdra kings beginning with Mahāpadma, with varying tinges of Kṣatriya-hood in them. The influence of Kali that had been gathering strength

comes into unrestricted operation with the advent of Mahāpadma. The birth of Parīkṣita and the coronation of Mahāpadma are two important dividing landmarks. The commentators Viṣṇucitti and Srīdharaswāmī point out that the interval between them should be taken as 1500 years (Sārddhasahaṣram) and that the words Pañcaśad (*Viṣṇu.* iv—24-204) and Pañcadaśa (*Bhāgavata*) are mistakes of transcription. The correct wording ought to be "*Etadvarṣa sahasraṃ tu*; *Jñeyam Śatottaram*". Pargiter's note on the lines (p. 58, *Dynasties of the Kali age*) points out that the correct rendering *Pañcaśatottaraṃ* occurs in some recensions of the *Matsya* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇas*. Accepting the readings 1015 and 1050 is tantamount to the admission that the Bṛhadrathas, Pradyotas, and Śiśunāgas became contemporaries at the time of the later Bṛihadratha kings and all ended together with Padma's coronation. It would mean more a murder than mutilation of all ancient tradition. The *Vāyu* differs from the others in one important particular. It employs the word *Mahādeva*, while others use *Mahāpadma* and *Nanda*. Scholars have naturally equated them. It seems to me that the equation is not inevitable. The version of the *Vāyu Purāṅa* appears to be the earliest, as I shall presently indicate. We should not lose sight of the factor that as at the present time the grandson might have been named after the grandfather or other earlier ancestor. The concerned verses of the *Vāyu Purāṅa* are (Ch. 98-408 to 411). *Eṣa vaṃśakramaḥ kṛtsnaṃ Kīrtito vo yathākramam, atīta vartamānaśca tathaiva anāgataśca ye*; (408) *i. Mahādevābhiṣekat tu janma yāvat Parīkṣitaḥ, Etat varṣa sahasrantu jñeyam pañcaśaduttarṃ.* (409). ii. *Paramāṇam vai tathācoktaṃ Mahāpadmāntaram ca yat*; *iii. Antaram tat śatanyastau ṣaṭ trimśacca samāḥ smṛtāḥ* (410) *Etat Kālāntaram bhāvya andhrāntā ye prakīrtitāḥ*; *bhaviṣyaiḥ tatra saṅkhyātāḥ purāṇajñair ṣrutarṣibhiḥ* (411). The passage contains three distinct statements. i. An interval of 1050 years from the coronation of Mahādeva down to the birth of

Parikṣita. ii. the interval from Parikṣita to Mahāpadma as already enumerated. (1000 plus 138 plus 362, i.e., 1500); iii. An interval of 836 years from Mahāpadma to the end of the Andhra dynasty. The second statement is contained only in the *Vāyu;* the others substitute Mahāpadma and suitably alter the phrasing also, in verse i. The *Jātakas* tell us that Mahādeva is a synonym of Makhadeva the eponymous ancestor of Janaka. It is my belief that the *Vāyu Purāṇa* pushes back the historical period by 1050 years to the era of Mahādeva, probably one of the kings commemorated in the seals of Mohendo Jaro and other Indus Valley excavations or those of Harappa. (Harapura). The implications of the second statement have been discussed already. The third requires some elucidation. Though the Purāṇas declare Puloma or Pulomavi to have been the last of the Andhras proper, they label the next five or seven kings as Andhra-bhṛtyās and conclude by calling them also Andhras (*Vāyu*. Ch. 98—352 to 355.) and assign to them 102 or 100 years. Epigraphic records trace the Andhras to 226 A.D. dating their origin to Aśokan times since Megasthenes declares them to be powerful neighbours of Magadha. The inclusion of Śāliśuka into the Mauryan dynasty list is regarded as out of place. If we equate him to Simuka, the originator of the Andhra dynasty (Śali *Śuka* : *Śrīmukha* : *Śimuka*), the place assigned to him in the Mauryan list is chronologically correct and might indicate a temporary domination over the Mauryas (456-226 yields 230 B.c.). The date of the last Andhra-sama-vamśa king will be 320 plus 100 or 420 A.D. the date of Kumaragupta. In the Mysore Archaeological Report for 1923 A.D. Dr. R. Shama Sastry has shown why the Gupta rule should be regarded as having commenced in 202 A.D. in preference to a later date 320 B.C. He has shown that the proposed date is in harmony with Jaina, Brahmanic, and Chinese traditions, not excluding the Ceylonese. The genealogical list and dates given on page

22 are in full accord with the *Vāyu Purāṇa* statement. (Ch. 98-352-355.). In the *Harivamśa* of Jinasenācārya, the Guptâs are allotted 231 years. Add 231 to 202 and you get 433 A.D. Go back 836 years and you reach 403 B.C. Mahāpadma's coronation is said to have taken place in some year between B.C. 409 and 422 B.C. The statements of the *Vāyu* are not only mutually consistent but accord with epigraphic data.

5. I shall proceed to point out other passages of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* which indicate the commencement of the second millennium before Christ as the era of the Mahābhārata War. i. It is stated that the vernal equinox occurred when the sun was at the end of Meṣa, i.e., in the first pada of *Kṛttika* and the autumnal equinox when the sun reached the end of Tula, i.e., the fourth quarter of Viaśaka. At the time of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* they had receded to the commencement of *Meṣa* and *Tulā* respectively. The moving back by thirty degrees requires at least 30 × 72 or 2160 years. The vernal equinox was at the zero of *Aśvinī* about 500 A.D. or *Kaliyuga* 3600. The date of the nucleus of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, i.e., that of *Adhisima kṛṣṇa* should have been about (2160-500) 1660 B.C. The Bhārata War took place about six generations earlier, i.e., in about 1860 B.C. or earlier. (Ch 50—vs 195-198 of *Vāyu*). ii. The implications of the *Saptarṣi* cycle have not been properly understood. Brennand (*Hindu Astronomy*) has clearly pointed out that what the ancients meant by saying that the Saptarṣis were in *Maghā* at the time of the Bhārata war, was that the solstitial colure, i.e , the north and south line passing through the northernmost and southernmost positions of the sun above the equator at the summer and winter solstices respectively passed by the side of the stars in the constellations of *Maghā* and the Great Bear (*Saptarṣis*). The Purāṇas furnish a similar interpretation. (*Vāyu*, Ch. 98; 415-416. *Matsya*, Ch. 273; vs. 41 and 42.

Viṣṇu Aṁsa iv. Ch. 24; vs. 105-106.). [*Saptarṣīṇāntu ye pūrva dṛśyante uttara diśi, tato madhyena ca kṣetram dṛśyate yat samam divi; tena saptarṣayo yukta jñeya vyomni śatam samā, nakṣatrāṇām ṛṣīṇāñca yogasya etat nidarśanam...* The commentaries of Viṣṇucitti (1300 *A.D.*) and Sridharaswāmī (1600 *A.D.*) run as follows. [*Agre śakatakara tāra saptakam saptarṣi maṇḍalam. tatraiva maṇḍale agrastamyah prācyo Maricih; tatah paścāt namrayugandharākāro Vaśiṣṭassabhāryah. tatah paścāt iṣat unnata iṣamula sthanīyah Aṅgirāh Tadasanna paścima tara catuṣṭayasya īśānye Atrih. Atrer yamyah Pulastyah.*

Pulastyasya paścime Pulahah. Tadudīcya catuṣka vāyavye Kratuh. Evam sthite yau pūrvau udaye prathamam dṛśyete śakatasthānasyapaścāt pulastaya Kratu samjñau. Tayostat purvayośca madhye samam dakṣiṇottara rekhāyāh samadeśāvasthitam yad aśvinyādi anyatamam nakṣatram dṛṣyate Tena nakṣatreṇa saptarṣayah yukta nṛṇāmabda śatam tiṣṭhanti.]

The commentators seem to imply that the point of intersection of the north and south lines passing through the mid-point of the line joining Kratu and Pulastya with the ecliptic is not stationary but keeps on slowly moving at the rate of one nakṣatra or 13.3 degrees per one hundred years. The fixed point in the Great Bear chosen for the purpose is the mid-point of the diagonal joining Kratu and Pulastya. Kratu is the star called Dhube by astronomers and forms one of the pointers. The second assumption implicit in the statement is that the reference-point lies near the ecliptic pole and inside the circle traced by the north celestial pole. A reference to a star-map will make it clear that the point of intersection on the ecliptic will have retromotion from Aśvinī to Revatī and so on round the whole ecliptic, once in 26000 years. This must have been the belief at the time of Vṛddha Garga. But actually the reference-point in the Great Bear lies outside the circle traced by the north pole. The result is that the point of intersection on the ecliptic will

not go round it completely, but will oscillate in an arc of 28 degrees, roughly extending from the yoga-tara of Maghā (Regulus : longitude 129 deg.) to the yoga-tara of Citra (Spica longitude 180 deg.). I leave it to expert astronomers to determine the limits more accurately and to work out more details. My aim is merely to draw their attention to the problem, since it appears to have been the genesis of the Libration Theory of Precession entertained by Varāhamihira and other astronomers of the *Siddhānta* school. I append herewith Pargiter's translation of the verses common to all the *Purāṇas* concerning the *Saptarṣi* cycle. (page 75 *Dynasties of the Kali age*). Pargiter has suggested some emendations in the first verse referring to Pratīpa. They are unnecessary. (The verse is correct as it stands.). The first verse runs thus in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* : *Saptarṣayah tadā prāhuh Pratīpe rājñi vai śatam*; *ṣapta vimśaih śataih bhavya Andhrāṇām te tvayā punah* The *Saptarṣi* constellation was conjoined with its own nakṣatra for 100 years in the reign of Pratīpa ; they will be there again twenty seven centuries later at the close of the Andhras. Pargiter's note is quite apt. "Thus the period from Pratipa to the end of the Andhras comprised a complete cycle of the Great Bear and then the cycle began again." The *Matsya Purāṇa* gives the correct version of the subsequent verses. *Saptavimśati paryante Kṛtsne nakṣatramaṇdale* (*Vāyu*), *Saptarṣayas tu tiṣṭhanti paryāyeṇa śatam śatam. Saptarṣīṇām yugam hyetad divyaya sankhyasmṛtam. Samā divyah smṛtah śāstre divyabdāni tu saptabhih. Tebhyah pravatate kālo divyah saptarṣibhis tu vai. Saptarṣīṇām tu yau pūrvau dṛśyate uditau niśi. Tayor madhye tu nakṣatram dṛśyate yat samam divi*; *Tenasaptarṣayoyuktā jñeyā vyomni śatam samāh. Nakṣatrāṇām ṛṣīṇāñca yogasyaitan nidarśanam. Saptarṣayo Maghā yuktāh kāle Parīkṣite śatam* ; *Andhrānte tu caturvimśe bhaviṣyanti śatam samāh*". "In the circle of the lunar constellations, wherein the Great Bear revolves, and which contains 27 constellations in its circumference, the Great Bear remains 100 years con-

joined with each in turn. This is the cycle of the Great Bear, and is remembered as being, according to divine reckoning, sixty years and seven years. According to those constellations divine time proceeds by means of the Great Bear. The two front stars of the Great Bear, which are seen when risen at night, the lunar constellation which is seen situated equally between them in the sky, the Great Bear is to be known as conjoined with that constellation 100 years in the sky. This is the exposition of the conjunction of the lunar constellations and the Great Bear. The Great Bear was conjoined with the *Maghās* in Parikṣita's time 100 years. It will be conjoined with the twenty-fourth constellation 100 years at the termination of the *Andhras*". Brennand suggested that the idea that the *Saptarṣis* spent 100 years in each *nakṣatra* should have originated in a mistake committed by the scribe, who mis-read 100 for 1000. As the text was regarded sacrosanct, none dared to correct it, even if they had the capacity. We learn that the original text of the Purāṇas was in *Prākrit* and in *kharoṣṭi* script. Pargiter points out many mis-readings due to confusion of letters.

(Vide—*Dynasties of the Kali Age*. p xxiv. art. 41.) He writes : " Misreadings could easily affect other numerals.......... *Again daśa and śata are sometimes confused, and since daśa appears in Prakrit as daśa and dasa, and śasa as śada and sada, either word might easily be altered for the other, since metathesis occurs in the manuscripts.*" (vide example under foot-note). My own impression is that the phrase ; *Paryayeṇa śātam śātam should originally have read as—Paryāyeṇa daśam śatam. Garga's original sentence should be: Saptarṣayas tu Tiṣṭhanti paryāyeṇa Daśam Śatam* (*Ten Hundred*), *giving the rate of precession at* 1000 *years per Nakṣatra*—as against the modern value of 960 years per *Nakṣatra*. This inference is borne out by the very next verse of the Purāṇa, which gives the correct rate of precession at sixty-seven divine years per full cycle, i.e., precession through 27 *nakṣatraṣ in* 67×360

(or 24120) years ; or the rate 893. 3 years per *nakṣatra or* 67 years per degree—as against the modern value : 72 years per degree. It is therefore highly probable that Garga had not only understood the phenomenon of precession but had formed an accurate measure of the rate from the statements in the *Saṃhitas* and the *Brāhmaṇas* about the shift of the equinoxial and solsticial points (vide my article on the *Pravargya* Legend in the *Poona Orientalist* Jan. 1943). The Purāṇas accepted the faulty reading and built their 2700 year cycle on it.

6. Whatever might have been the genesis of the *Sapatarṣi* cycle of 2700 years, the statements about Pratīpa and the Andhras were undoubtedly based on an assumption of its validity. The remark that 2700 years would intervene between Pratīpa and the close of the Andhras merely gave concreteness to the traditional opinion obtaining at the time. According to Pargiter, Pratīpa was Parīkṣita's ancestor in the seventh degree. A period of two hundred years should have separated them. So the interval between *Parīkṣit*a and the close of the *Andhra* rule would be (2700-100-200) about 2400 years. The last verse explicitly declares the interval to be about 2400 years. (*caturviṃśe*). According to Rapson and other authorities coins record their rule up to about 226 A. D. This would give *Parīkṣita* a date in 2100 B. C. If the Guptas are included in the dynasty as *Andhra-Bhṛtyas*, the close of the Andhra rule could be taken forward to 420 A. D. The Purāṇas say : *Andhrāṇām samsthite rajye teṣām bhṛtyanvayā nṛpāh, saptaiva Andhra bhaviṣyanti. Andhrāh bhokṣyanti vasudhām, śate dve ca śatañca vai.* Kumāragupta the seventh king of the Gupta dynasty is usually assigned the date 414 B.C. According to *Prakrit* usage, the phrase sate dve śatam ca vai could be interpreted as 102 or 100. We can assume the rule of the elder *Andhras* to have continued up to the establishment of the Guptas. Thus the several statements

of the Purāṇas point to the commencement of the second millennium before Christ as the date of Parīkṣita and the Mahābhārata War. It might have been earlier still, but not later.

7. The significance of the statement in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* that the Saptarṣis would be in *Purvāṣāḍhas* at the time of the *Nandas* has not been rightly understood. *Viṣṇu citti* and *Srēdharaswāmī* point out that the remark should not be taken as a time-indicator. The prediction only referred to the prevalence of the evils of the Kali age in right earnest as indicated by the triumph of the *Śūdra* kings over the ancient *Kṣatriyas*, and the acquisition of power by the *Mlecchas*. The prophesied presence of the *Saptarṣis* was not a record of observation. Even if it is taken to be a time-indicator, the interval between *Parīkṣita* and the *Nandas* will not be 1000 or 1100 years. As I have already pointed out, the *Purāṇic* conception of the movement of the *Saptarṣis* among the nakṛatras is a paraphrase of the fact of precession. The *nakṣatras* are to be counted backwards. The *Saptarṣis* left *Maghā* during the reign of *Parīkṣita* (seventy-five years of their stay in *Maghā* had elapsed at the end of Yudhiṣṭhra's reign vide ?). They would be entering the *Pūrvāṣāḍhas* from the *Uttarāṣāḍhas* towards the close of the *Nandas*. The number of *nakṣatras* separating the *Pūrvaṣāḍhas* from *Maghā* would thus be sixteen, indicating an interval of not less than 1600 years. Add the 800 years interval from Mahāpadma to the end of the Andhras to this estimate and you get 2400 years, the interval already predicted in the foregoing verses. Thus the several statements of the *Purāṇas* are mutually consistent and embody the traditional reckoning. I find that 2052 B. C. satisfies the astronomical observations as closely as 1198 B. C. Counting dates from sunrise, there was a solar eclipse at sunrise on 28 Dec. 2067 B. C. and a lunar eclipse near moon-set on the night of 10th Jan. 2066 B. C.

thirteenth day later. During the year 2053-52 B. C. Jupiter and Saturn spent a full year near *Viśākā*: Jupiter backing from 206 to 195 and Saturn from 217 to 210. The planetary positions on the day of battle (new-moon ending Amānta Kārtika.) were as follows : 1. Sun 223; 2. Moon 223; 3. Mars 243; 4. Mercury 209; 5. Jupiter 218; 6. Venus 264; 7. Saturn 220 ; 8. Rāhu 210; 9. Comet. 229. Just before the battle, there was a solar eclipse on 13th Sept. a lunar on 29th Sept. and battle began on 13th Oct. 2052. (We find 2052+1050 = 3102 B.C. Makhadeva's coronation coincided with the commencement of Kaliyuga). I leave the accurate determination and verification of these elements to expert astronomers.

AESTHETIC EXPERIENCE IN THE LIGHT OF ĀBHĀSAVĀDA

By K. C. Pandey

(*Continued from page 30*)

To answer this they postulate a new cognising activity called Bhoga and the experience they represent to be Ānanda. Let us, therefore, see what is the implication of these expressions in the known schools of philosophy.

Vedānta Metaphysics and Ānanda

The variety of the ordinary experiences can be brought under three heads :—(1) pleasure, (2) pain and (3) insensibility. Similarly, states in the life of the conscious being can be put under three heads—

(i) The state of knowing,
(ii) Acting, and
(iii) Senselessness. But in ordinary life pleasure, pain and insensibility are not unmixed, nor are so knowledge, action and senselessness.

The ultimate cause of both the sets, mentioned above, is the triad of qualities Sattva, Rajas and Tamas, which constitute Avidyā or ignorance.

There is no moment in the life of the individual in which they are inoperative. There is no determinate knowledge which does not arouse attitudes and responses. And the determinate knowledge of one thing means the ignorance of others. The only thing is that at some moment one is predominantly operative and at others another. Thus in ordinary life one of them is always shrouded by the other two. Still occasionally one of them attains predominance over the rest. Predominance of Sattva is pleasure, of Rajas, pain and of Tamas, senselessness. Bliss (Ānanda), therefore, in its technical restricted

sense is not possible to an individual so long as the individuality persists.

The universal self, as admitted by the Vedānta to explain the phenomenal world, is also associated with the Avidyā, but that is not individual, that is sumtotal of all the individual Avidyās, that is the root cause of everything, that is the object of experience, it is also constituted by the same three qualities. But in this triad there is the predominance of the perfectly pure Sattva. This perfect purity is due to the fact that the Rajas is totally inoperative because the field of its operation, the limited objective world in its full development, does not exist. And the Tamas being the opposite of the Sattva is as inoperative as the darkness can be in the presence of light. This universal Avidyā with the predominance of pure Sattva is Ānandamayakośa of the Universal Self. Bliss (Ānanda), therefore, as distinct from pleasure (Sukha) according to the Vedānta, is predominant and perfectly pure Sattva, as related to the Universal Self. The predominance is due to inoperativity of the other two, because of absence of the limited phenomenal world.

Sāṅkhya Conception of Bhoga

Bhoga invloves the following four :—

1. Puruṣa identified with its reflection falling on the Buddhi. 2. Buddhi, which receives the reflection of Puruṣa from within and that of the object from without. 3. The reflection of the object on the Buddhi. 4. Ahaṅkāra which is responsible :

(a) for the unification of the two reflections of the subject and the object,

(b) for identification of the reflection of the subject with the subject itself,

(c) for the use of this union of the subject and the object for practical purposes,

(d) for the rise of consciousness "I know this."

The Process

1. The Buddhi receives the reflection of the object from without. 2. The reflection of the subject comes from within. 3. Ahaṅkāra unites them. 4. The two reflections merge into each other. 5. The object shines. This shining of the object because of union with the subject is the culminating point of the process described so far. Hence, it is spoken of as the fruit of the cognitive activity. It is called Jñāna.

Union of the reflections of the subject and the object, when used for practical purposes by Ahaṅkāra by giving rise to the consciousness "I know this" which refers the object to the subject without recognising the difference between the subject and its reflection is called *Bhoga*, because it involves the union of the two reflections in the common ground of the Buddhi and also because the consciousness that has been aroused by Ahaṅkāra has the common substratum with the reflection of the Puruṣa.

The Conception of Bhoga

According to Yoga system—(" *Sattvapuruṣayoḥ atyantasaṅkīrṇayoḥ pratyayaviśeṣo bhogaḥ*"). Sattva in Yoga terminalogy is the same thing as Buddhi. It is insentient. And Puruṣa is sentient or sentiency itself. They are thus of opposite nature. Therefore, no such union between them is possible as between "lotuse" and 'blue'. In intellectual reaction to the stimulus, however, in practical life, there is no consciousness of difference between them. This consciousness of identity of Buddhi and Puruṣa in practical life is technically called Bhoga.

Vaiśeṣika Conception of Bhoga

According to the Vaiśeṣika also the knowledge (Jñāna) is distinct from the self. The Bhoga, the reference of the knowledge to the self, therefore, is explained in terms of relation of inherence. Thus according to the

Vaiśeṣika also, relation is involved in Bhoga, though not Saṃyoga, as according to the Sāṅkhya, but Samavāya.

The Criticism of the New Technique

From the above explanation of Bhoga and Ānanda it is clear that the two cannot go together. Bhoga, according to all systems of thought involves subject—object relation. But Ānanda, which is nothing but the predominance of pure Sattva, is not possible so long as the subject–object relation persists. Bhoga is the opposite of Mokṣa which consists in Ānanda. Thus, the new theory is unsound because it brings in the contradictory conceptions to explain the aesthetic experience.

Epistemic Technique of Ābhāsavāda

1. *Pramāṇa*: The means of knowledge is not, like that of the Sāṅkhya, Buddhi, which is perfectly independent and different from the principle of consciousness (cit or puruṣa) but the light of cit itself as a limited manifestation of the Universal consciousness, proceeding towards the object and receiving its reflection.

2. *Pramātā*: This cit has two aspects:—(I) It sends its light towards the object, and as such it is the means of knowledge. (2) But it is self-conscious also, and as such it is the subject of knowledge, *the knower*. It persists even when there is no cognitive activity going on. When there is no objective world to cast its reflections, as such it is self-luminous. It is like a flame which keeps burning irrespective of the fact whether there is anything to illuminate or not. Kāla, Niyati, Rāga, Vidyā and Kalā are its limiting conditions.

3. *Pramiti*: This steady flame, when affected by the consciousness of the object, that is, when it reacts on the reflection of the object, when there arises the inner expression in it, is knowledge (*Pramiti*).

Metaphysical Implication of the Epistemic Technique of Ābhāsavāda

Everything, excepting the ultimate is Ābhāsa. All Ābhāsas are the manifestations of the Ultimate. Thus the subject, the object, the means of knowledge and knowledge itself is an Ābhāsa. Ābhāsa is an isolated manifestation for which in practical life a single expression is used.

4. *Prameya*

In the light of the above metaphysical implication, let us see what is the object of the cognitive activity (Prameya). The cognitive activity is of two kinds :—(1) Primary and (2) Secondary. The primary begins with the movement of the light of the limited self towards the isolated objective Ābhāsa. It receives the objective reflection. It terminates with the mental reaction which consists in the rise of the inner expression which stands for the isolated objective Ābhāsa. (*Pratyābhāsaṃ pramāṇavyāpāraḥ*). Thus the object of primary cognition is very much like the universal, which the Vaiyākaraṇas hold to be the meaning (artha) of the individual expression. As such it is free from time and space limit. Everything is not primarily given in objective time and space. The isolated Ābhāsa is real; because (I) it is the only object of the primary cognitive activity, (2) it alone is the object of mental reaction, and (3) the causal efficiency of an object in practical life depends entirely on it. The secondary cognitive activity consists in the mere unification of the various Ābhāsas, separately cognised by the primary activity. It is responsible for bringing about a configuration of Ābhāsas which is the object of action, as distinct from mere knowledge, inspired by the purposive attitude of the cogniser. For, such an object is not an isolated Ābhāsa, but a configuration of innumerable Ābhāsas ; of as many Ābhāsas as may be the words used by different cognisers from different points of view.

The causal efficiency, or the use of an object for practical purposes, depends on the unification of some of the constituent Ābhāsas of an object into a whole. This whole is called by a word standing for the most needed or desired Ābhāsa.

The constituents of an object are not always the same to every person. They differ with the difference in individual (1) predilection (Ruci), (2) purposive attitude (Arthitva) and (3) the capacity to know (Vyutpatti).

The time and the space are not always the necessary constituents of an object of cognition. Everything is not always necessarily cognised in time and space relations.

The fire and the smoke, for instance, at the time of the acquisition of their invariable concomitance are not associated with external time and space; nor is the object at the time of acquisition of the conventional expression.

The Ābhāsa, as an object of primary cognitive activity is as good as the Universal (*Sāmānyāyamāne Pramāṇa Vyāpārah*). The space and time relations only individualise it. The object, the configuration of Ābhāsas, is related to time and space when it is desired to be made an object of practical utility. Hence, when there is no such desire, it is free from the external time and space relations.

This is epistemic technique adopted to explain the ordinary experience of the objective world. The epistemic technique adopted to explain the aesthetic experience is very different from this.

1. The subject is not limited by the five ordinary limiting conditions: (1) Kāla, (2) Niyati, (3) Rāga, (4) Vidyā and (5) Kalā, but entirely free from them. Their place is taken by (1) aesthetic taste (Rasikatva), (2) aesthetic susceptibility (Sahṛdayatva), (3) power of aesthetic visualisation (Pratibhā), (4) intellectual background, and (5) contemplative habit. They have been dealt with in my paper "*Abhinava's theory of Meaning.*"

(2) The aesthetic *object* also has its own peculiarities. The most important being the freedom from time and space relation and ultimately from all that gives objectivity to the object.

(3) The subjective reaction also to the presented is different in as much as it is not determined by the subjective categories for the simple reason that the subject is free from all limitations.

(4) Hence the resultant experience also is different from all that we have in ordinary life.

Ordinary Object is Unity in Multiplicity

It is undeniable fact that in ordinary life the expression such as 'Jar' is used for an external object which is a configuration of many looked upon as one, and, therefore, the view that the means of knowledge applies to an isolated constituent of the configuration (*Pratyābhāsam pramāṇasya viśrāntiḥ*) may look to be unsound. It will, however, be clear to an analytical observer that the unity is consequent on the perception of multiplicity and is due to all that is separately cognised appearing on a common basis, the particular constituents of the configuration which, because of the attitude of the perceiver, figures as the most important.

It may be elaborated as follows :—There is no cognition devoid of the consciousness of the universal, the universal presents the farthest limit of analysis, and its cognition is presupposed in the cognition of the particular. This particular though cognised as one by the unanalytical mind is not really so. It admits of analysis into multiplicity of its constituents. The analysis is possible in three different ways :

(1) According to the convention;
(2) Free from all conventional restriction;
(3) According to need of the analyst.

The human mind is so constituted that often to complete the cognitive process, it reacts on isolated constituent of a possible configuration. In such a case there arises the consciousness of mere being, the all-pervasive universal (Parasāmānya) or conceptual universal (apara—sāmānya). The isolated universal which marks the farthest limit of cognitive analysis, which to the analytical mind is the object of cognitive reaction, to which alone the conventional expression refers, and in which the causal efficiency rests is *Ābhāsa*. It is pure unity. The idea of unity in a configuration of the Ābhāsas involves multiplicity which is looked upon as unity because the constitutents of multiplicity rest on a common basis, the time and the space or the most important Ābhāsa to a man with purposive attitude at a particular time.

Practical life is entirely dependent on the unification of Ābhāsas. The isolated Ābhāsa, has no practical utility. In order that it may be an object of action, as distinct from mere cognition, it must be united with some other Abhāsas, at least the external time and space.

Unchanging nature of the Ābhāsa

The Ābhāsa does not change even when it is united with others. The Ābhāsa of generic form, for instance, that for which the word 'Jar' is used, without implying the matter clay or silver etc. of which it may be made, even when united with other Ābhāsas, e.g. red, earthen and high etc. and so appearing as distinct from the generic form because of its being looked upon as the substantive of the attributes "red" etc., does not change its essential nature of generic form, which was experienced before.

The relation between the universal and particular

The relation between the universal and the particular is similar to that of canvas and the picture. Just as the canvas admits of divisions into as many constituents as may be the lines that an artist may like to draw on it. (1)

according to his own conception, or (2) the tradition, or (3) aim or purpose, so does what is ordinarily taken to be one object. Multiplicity is like lines and unity the canvas.

Time and space as the basis of particularity

The common basis, on which the constituents of multiplicity unite when the object is purposively viewed is constituted by the external time and space. They do not figure in free and conventional cognition (Yathāruci Yathā vyutpatti) They figure only in the purposive cognition. They do not figure when we are visualising conventional meaning of a linguistic expression, for, according to the philosophy of grammar, the linguistic symbol stands for the universal alone. Even the word "this" (Ayaṃ) stands for the universal. 'This' which is common to all that is objective (Sarvabhāvagatedantā sāmānya) and not the particular. And the free cognition would cease to be free if it be limited by time and space.

The Implication of Universality (Sādhāraṇībhāva) according to Ābhāsavāda

We have discussed above, in the brief sketch of the *Ābhāsavāda*, the essential nature of the universal and the particular. Particularity consists in the time and space relation of the Ābhāsa, the universal. And the universal, the Ābhāsa, is free from such relations. The former is a configuration, a unity in multiplicity, (Ekānekarūporthah). (Viśiṣṭah Padārthah). And the latter is the universal, not such as is due to the generalistation, based on the perception of a persistent element in a number of different objects but that, which united with others, constitutes the very being of a particular object. The one is Svalakṣaṇa and the other is Sāmānya—lakṣaṇa.

Criticism of the Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa Theory

The words Samāna and Sādhāraṇa are synonymous. They are the opposite of viśiṣṭa. The difference of the

former from the latter is characterised by freedom from the time and the space relation. If, therefore, Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa, be nothing but freeing the presented from time and space relation, that would not explain the aesthetic experience. For the aestheti c experience is not a mere objective cognition of the universal basic mental state. And even if we accept it to be so the objective cognition of such a mental state is a psychological impossibility, as we have already stated above. Further, even if we admit the objective cognition of the universal basic mental state, such a cognition would, in no way be different from the ordinary cognition of a universal, as such it should admit of presentation in the linguistic expression, for the linguistic expressions stand for the universal.

Thus even if the poetic language be accepted to have the power of universalisation that would not explain the aesthetic experience. For, according to this, the aesthetic experience would be the cognition of the universalised basic mental state. But it is an indefencible position. The reasons may be stated as follows :—

1. It is inconsistant with another aesthetic view of the exponent of the universalisation theory, namely, that the basic mental state does not admit of the presentation in linguistic terms. For, if the aesthetic experience be simply the cognition of the universalised basic mental state (Sthāyī) it should admit of presentation in language. Because the linguistic expression stand for the universal.

2. It is also inconsistent with the presentation of this experience as a state of "*Blissfulness*" (Ānanda).

For, in the Blissful state, the objective cognition even of the universal is not possible. Blissfulness and objective cognition do not go together. Thus, even if the two powers of the poetic language (1) the Bhāvakatva and (2) the Bhojakatva be admitted, the aesthetic experience would still

remain unexplained, even as it is admitted to be by the exponent of the universalisation theory.

Abhinava's contribution

1. Identification and psychological process involved in it. 2. The Sthāyī not objectively cognised but subjectively experienced through the rise of Vāsanā. 3. The psycho-philosophical reasons for the subjective condition involved in the experience. 4. The relation of the various contents of the objective aspect of experience. 5. The implication of universalisation of the objective aspect. 6. Nature of the aesthetic experience. 7. Triadic relation 8. Cooperation of the subjective conditions of the spectator with the peculiar nature of the aesthetic object and its effects.

The space does not permit me to deal with all the eight points referred to above. I shall, therefore confine myself to briefly dealing with the last point only.

There are seven obstacles to the aesthetic experience. The co-operation between the subjective conditions of the aesthetic spectator with the peculiar nature of the aesthetic presentation, removes them all. They may be stated as follows :--

1. Lack of capacity to get at the meaning (Sambhāvanā viraha). It arises from the idea of impossibility of the presented. To get over this (a) on the subjective side sahṛdayatva is necessary and (b) on the objective side of the presentation of a well-known event in the case of the social drama and in that of the transcendental (lokottara) name of a person, the idea of the historic reality which has taken deep root in the hearts of those who are seeing the presentation, because of the persistence of the tradition. Such a name has the capacity to arouse a flood of associated ideas which prevent the rise of the idea of impossibility of the presented.

(2, 3) Subjective and objective limitations of time and space. (*Svagata paragatatva niyamena deśakālaviśeṣaveśaḥ*).

The means of eleminating the objective limitations--(1) the dramatic technique, followed in the presentation of the introductory scene which introduces the actor as such and then concealing his identity with suitable dress paints and speak with peculiar intonation such as fits in with the historic associations of the name that is given to the hero, are the means of universalising the presentation.

Similarly music etc., which are well—known to bring about the self forgetfulness in the hearer are the means of subjective universalisation.

4. *The influence of personal joys and sorrow.*

Nija sukha duḥkhādi vivaśībhāvaḥ.

Self forgetfulness brought about by music etc. is the means to get over it.

5. *Lack of clarity due to insufficient stimulus* (*Pratītyupāya vaikalya sphuṭatvābhāvaḥ.*)

The mind does not get rightful satisfaction if the knowledge is from the inferential signs or linguistic symbols. To bring about the sufficiency in the stimulative capacity of the dramatic presentation acting is introduced which has the stimulating effect almost as good as does the really directly present.

6. *Subordination of the Principal*

(Apradhānatā)

The mind does not get the restful satisfaction in that which occupies a subordinate position. Its natural tendency at the presentation of the subordinate is to seek for or run to the principal. In order, therefore, to give the restful satisfaction, the Sthāyī is given the predominant position in the midst of the situation etc.

7. *Dubiousness of the Presentation.*

(Saṁśaya Yogaḥ.)

The situation etc., have no fixed definite meaning in isolation from other constituents of the dramatic presentation. In order to obviate this dubiousness of the situation, mimetic changes and transient emotions are presented together.

Conclusion

The aesthetic experience, thus, in the light of Ābhāsavāda is not the objective cognition of a basic mental state, but the self-experience of the self free from all limitations as identified with the basic mental state becoming patent through the rise of Vāsanā due to identification with the focus of the situation.

WERE THE GUPTAS CONTEMPORANEOUS WITH THE KUŚĀNS?

By V. LAKSHMINARAYANA

Mr. D. N. Mukherjee has tried to maintain that Candragupta I was contemporaneous with Kaniṣka.[1] In this paper, we shall examine some of the important arguments advanced by Mr. Mukherjee and give our own reasons for maintaining that the Guptas could not be contemporaneous with the Kuśāns.

Mr. Mukherjee has based his arguments mainly on what is stated in the *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang*, a Tibetan history of the rise, progress and downfall of Buddhism in India, written in A.D. 1745. He has tried to show that Candragupta (II), Aśvaghōṣa, Āryadēva and Kaniṣka were contemporaneous with each other.[2] The *Pag-Sam* states that when Candragupta was ruling in the Eastern country, there was a king named Kaniṣka towards the west, (Delhi and Mālwa). Mr. Mukherjee identifies this Kaniṣka with Kaniṣka (II), grandson of Kaniṣka, according to him and he has assigned Kaniṣka (II) to Saṃvat 61-77[3]. He has identified Kanika with Kaniṣka (II) due to the following reason. Kanika is said (in the *Pag-Sam*) to have invited Aśvaghōṣa to his court but the latter being too old sent a letter to the former called '*Mahārāja-Kanika-Lēkha*' through a disciple. Now there are some stories according to which Aśvaghōṣa was a courtier of Kaniṣka. Mr. Mukherjee argues that Kanika is not

---

[1] D. N. Mukherjee, "*The contemporaneity of Chandragupta and Kaniṣka,*" *Poona Orientalist*, V, pp. 197-204. (See also the same author's paper on the same topic in the *Proceedings of the third session of the Indian History Congress*).

[2] *Ibid*; V. p. 204.

[3] *Ibid*; V. P. 198.

identical with Kaniṣka, as Aśvaghōṣa is said to have been a courtier of Kaniṣka while he is also mentioned as declining to go to the court of Kanika due to old age. But it is possible that Aśvaghōṣa attended the court of Kanika sometimes before the incident of the former's refusal, due to one or more reasons, occurred. The incident might be what happened only once at a particular time in the relations between Aśvaghōṣa and Kanika. So it is possible that Kanika is Kaniṣka himself. Then Kaniṣka would be contemporaneous with Candragupta II himself. We have argued in the above manner only to show that Kanika might be Kaniṣka himself. But we shall show below that the Guptas were not in fact contemporaneous with the Kuśāns, and that we must not accept what is stated in the *Pag-Sam* unless it is supported by other evidences like the epigraphic or the numismatic.

Mr. Mukherjee reads between the lines and thinks that there is a hint for the contemporaneity of Kanika (i.e. Kaniṣka II according to him) and Candragupta II in a passage in the *Mahārāja-Kanika-Lēkha*. The passage runs thus :— "Since we cannot look upon the hurtful sun, act, O moon of kings like the moon." Mr. Mukherjee says that in this passage Kanika is advised to imitate the good qualities of king Candragupta II. But one cannot be sure on this point.

Mr. Mukherjee brings the following argument in favour of the contemporaneity of the Guptas and the Kuśāns. He says, "We know that Samudragupta as crown-prince defeated the Daivaputra-Ṣāhi-Ṣāhānuṣāhi. This title is characteristic only of the Kaniṣka group of kings. This shows clearly the contemporaneity of the Imperial Guptas and the Kushans[4]." But there is no evidence at all that Samudragupta entered into an actual war with the Daivaputra-Ṣāhi-Ṣāhā-

---

[4] *Ibid.*, V. P. 203.

nuṣāhi, Śakas, and Murundas, etc., and that he defeated them and that too as a crown-prince. The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta[5] (line 23) only implies that they recognised the suzerainty of Samudragupta by requesting him for granting Charters (śāsana) confirming them in the enjoyment of their own territories (*svaviṣaya-bhukti*) and having the (mark of the) garuḍa-seal (garutma daṅka) on them.[6] Mr. Mukherjee says that the titles of Daiva-putra, Ṣāhi, Ṣāhānuṣāhi, are characteristics of only the Kaniṣka group of kings. But it is quite possible that the titles continued to be used in the time of some of the later Kuśāns also, though their dominions and glory were diminished. We know that the later Kuśāns (Kidara Kuśāns) continued to rule as late as the second half of the ninth century A. D. Their capital, Kabul, was finally taken by the Moslems in 870 A.D.[7]

If we make the Guptas and the Kuśāns contemporaries with each other, there are some insurmountable difficulties. For example, Candragupta II and Vāsudeva would be ruling at the same time in the same region of Mathura. Several inscriptions prove that Vāsudeva ruled at Mathura. His inscriptions have been found only in that region.[8] But we have also some inscriptions of Candragupta II from Mathura.[9] According to the theory of Mr. Mukherjee, Candragupta II and Vāsudeva would be contemporaries

---

[5] Fleet, '*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 8.

[6] For a discussion of the meaning of lines 23-24 of the Allahabad pillar inscription, see the author's paper "*A passage in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta and its significance.*" *J.A.H.R.S.*, XIII, pp. 141—144.

[7] H. Raychaudhuri, '*Political History of Ancient India*, p. 304 (2nd Ed.).

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 302.

[9] Fleet, '*Gupta Inscriptions*', No. 4, p. 25. Another inscription of Candragupta II from Mathura is edited by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, *E.I.* Vol. XXI, No. 1.

with each other. (The dates of Vāsudeva range from the years 74 to 98[10] and those of Candragupta II from 61 to 93). But we have shown that this leads to the absurdity of two sovereigns ruling at the same time in the same place. So the Guptas could not have been contemporaries with the Kuśāns.

The same kind of difficulty as we have noticed with regard to Candragupta II and Vāsudeva arises in the case of Samudragupta and his Kuśān contemporary also. We know[11] from two Sarnath inscriptions that a certain Vanaṣpara was governor (Kṣatrapa) of a province, wherein Benares was included, under the Maha-kṣatrapa Kharapablāna in the time of Kaniṣka. So the Kuśān empire might have extended up to Benares at least in the east and perhaps farther also, as it is only stated that Benares was situated in the Kuśān province, not that it was its limit. According to the theory of Mr. Mukherjee, Kaniṣka would be contemporary with Candragupta I and also probably Samudragupta. Now, as the Kuśān empire extended up to Benares at least in the east and Gandhāra and Kāśmīr in the west, it included the territories (occupied by the Mālavas (Rājaputānā), Mādrakas, (Punjab) Yaudhēyas and Abhiras, etc. But L. 22 of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta shows that the Mālavas, etc., along with some frontier kings formed part of his empire, as they paid all kinds of taxes to him, obeyed his orders, and came to perform obeisance. The above tribes could not be said to have recognised the Gupta and the Kuśān suzerainty at the same time. But it is just to this impossibility that we are led by working out the logical implications of the theory of Mr. Mukherjee. So his theory is untenable.

We can advance some more arguments against the theory of Mr. Mukherjee. He relies on what is stated in

---

[10] H. Raychaudhuri '*Political History of Ancient India*' p. 302.

[11] Jayaswal, '*History of India*', p. 41.

the *Pag-Sam*. But it is a work written in the eighteenth century A. D. If we take Candragupta I, along with Mr. Mukherjee, to be ruling in 58 B. C, it means that the *Pag-Sam* was written about eighteen centuries after the time of Candragupta I. We cannot easily accept, what is stated in such a work, as authoritative and genuine on its face value. Mr. Mukherjee tries to defend the weakness of the *Pag-Sam* as a source for the history of Candragupta I by saying that Sumpa, the author of the *Pag-Sam*, revised the Tibetan books on Buddhism extant in China in the eighteenth century A. D. and so had opportunity to collect materials for his work from ancient books.[12] · But a study of Tibetan books on Buddhism extant in his time could not suffice to make him a sound and critical historian giving accurate information about ancient India.

Further, the Lāmā Tārānātha and the *Pag-Sam* itself state that king Candragupta who was contemporaneous with Aśvaghōṣa, Āryadēva and Kanika was also a contemporary of Cāṇakya. If so, the Candragupta mentioned above must be the Mauryan Emperor, Candragupta, who was a contemporary of Cāṇakya. So he could not be the Gupta monarch Candragupta I. By abrogating the evidence of the *Pag-Sam* about the contemporaneity of Candragupta with Cāṇakya, Mr. Mukherjee denies the very authority of the *Pag-Sam* itself on which he relies for the contemporaneity of Candragupta I and Kaniṣka. It means that Mr. Mukherjee accepts the *Pag-Sam* as authoritative when it suits him and rejects when its evidence does not fit into his scheme of ancient Indian history and chronology. But this process of rejecting and accepting shows that we cannot rely on the *Pag-Sam*.

There is a reference to Samudragupta in the *Tantrī-Kāmandaka*, a Javanese text and one of the Far Eastern group

---

12 *Poona Orientalist*, V. p. 197.

of *Pañcatantra* texts.[13] The passage containing the reference runs thus :—

"In old times there was a king who traced his geneology to the family of Samudragupta. His name was Maharaja Esvaryapala and his capital was Pātalīputra-nagara in Jambūdvīpa, in Śrī Lārataṇḍa . . . . . . "

The above passage connects the Guptas and the Pālas. In the *Rāmacarita* Dharmapāla is mentioned as 'Samudra-kuladīpa.' This implies that he was born in the family of Samudragupta. We may take 'Samudra' in 'Samudrakula-dīpa' as certainly referring to Samudragupta, in the light of the passage quoted from the *Tantrī Kāmandaka*. We may add here that in the Buddhist text of *Ārya-Ma̅ju-Śrī-Mūlakalpa* also Samudragupta is mentioned only as Samudragupta.[14] Further if Samudra does not refer to Samudragupta, there will be no sense if we translate 'Samudrakula' as, 'family of sea.' Thus the *Tantrī Kāmandaka* and the *Rāma-carita* connect the Guptas and the Pālas geneologically. So Dr. R. C. Majumdar has said[15] that by the eleventh Century A. D. a tradition of the descent of the Pāla kings from Samudragupta had probably grown up as the Imperial

---

1 Dr. R. C. Majumdar, '*Literary reference to Samudragupta*', *I. H. Q.*, IX, pp. 930-32.

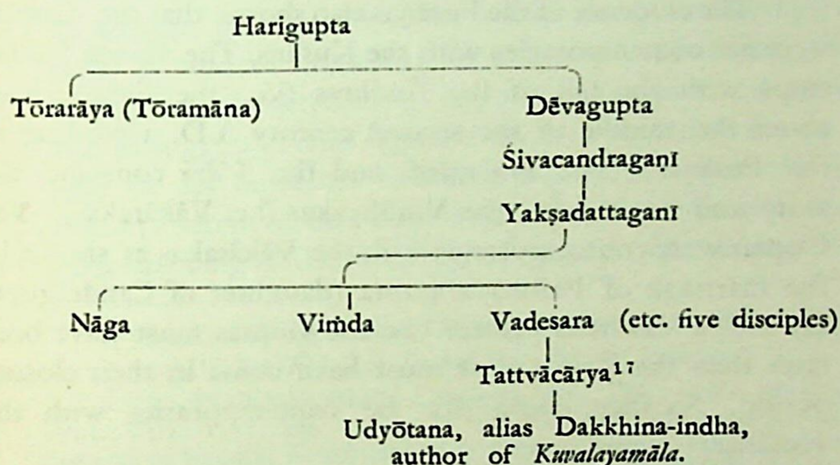
1 1 समुद्राख्यो नृपश्चैव विक्रमश्चैव कीर्तितः ।
महेन्द्रनृपवंशे मुख्यसकाराद्यो भतः परम् ॥ (*MMK*,646).
तस्याधरेण नृपतिस्तु समुद्राख्यो नाम कीर्त्तितः ।

(*Ibid*, 700) (Text given at the end of Dr. Jayaswal's '*Imperial History* of *India*.'). In the above Ślōkas, मतः परम् in 646, given in the Sanskrit text of the *MMK* is taken to be wrong by Dr. Jayaswal (p. 47 of the text given at the end of his '*Imperial History*') and he took the Tibetan version of ततः परम् to be correct. But मतः may refer to महेन्द्र (i.e. Kumaragupta I) mentioned two words before मतः in the same Ślōka and मतः परम् may mean "after Ma (i.e. after Mahendra)". So we need not take it to be wrong and accept ततः परम् as correct, as Dr. Jayaswal did. As for Ślōka 700, Dr. Jayaswal did not point out that there is redundancy in समुद्राख्यो नाम. नाम is superfluous after आख्य .

15 *I.H.Q.*, IX, p. 932.

Guptas, the Later Guptas and the Pālas had reigned in Magadha in almost unbroken succession. Now, if the Gupta era started in 58 B.C. and if the Guptas were contemporaries with the Kuśāns, the Guptas and the Pālas would be separated by a long distance of time and there would have been no possibility for the growth of traditions (of the kind given above from the *Tantrī Kāmandaka* and the *Rāmacarita*) connecting the Guptas and the Pālas. So due to this evidence also we cannot accept the theory of Mr. Mukherjee.

Udyōtana sūri alias Dākṣinya-cihna wrote the *Kuvalayamāla* (a Jaina romance in Prakrit) and completed it at Jābālipura on the fourteenth day, Caitra Vadi, Śaka Saṃvat 699, as he himself says in the *Kuvalayamāla*. According to the information given in Udyōtana's work, we may construct the following line of gurus and śiṣyas[16]:—



As Udyōtana finished his work about 778 A.D. we may take 725 A.D. as the year of his birth. As the above line of gurus shows we can know the time of Tōramāna by deducting the years for six generations from the birth-year

---

[16] N.C. Mehta, '*Jaina record on Tōramāna*' *J.B.O.R.S.*, IX, pp. 28-38.

[17] Two other gurus of Udyōtana are also mentioned.

of Udyōtana at the rate of thirty years for each generation. If so, the date of Tōramāna would fall in the first half of the sixth century A.D. If Udyōtana was born earlier the date of Tōramāna falls earlier. Now according to Hiuen Tsang[18], Mihira Kula (son and successor of Tōramāna) was a contemporary of Bālāditya who defeated the former. This Bālāditya is generally identified with Narasiṁhagupta some of whose coins have 'Nara' and 'Baladitya' on them. But some scholars take him to be Bhānugupta.[19] Whoever Gupta King was identical with Bālāditya, the evidence of the *Kuvalayamāla* shows that the Imperial Guptas could not be dragged back to the beginnings of the Christian era, as Tōramāna and Mihirakula were contemporaries with some of the Imperial Guptas and ruled so late as the fifth or the sixth century A.D.

The evidence of the Purāṇas also shows that the Guptas were not contemporaries with the Kuśāns. The *Matsya Purāṇa* stops with the fall of the Āndhras (i.e. the Śātavāhanas) about the middle of the second century A.D. according to the Purāṇas. The *Brahmāṇḍa* and the *Vāyu* continue the story and begin with the Vindhyakas (i.e. Vākāṭakas). The Guptas were contemporaries with the Vākāṭakas as shown by the marriage of Prabhāvatigupta (daughter of Candragupta II) with a Vākāṭaka prince. So the Guptas must have been later than the Āndhras or must have come in their closing period. So they could not be contemporaries with the Kuśāns.

---

18 Beal, '*Buddhist records of the Western World*', I, P. 171.

19 H. Raychaudhuri, '*Political History*', p. 368.

AN ATTEMPT AT DEMONSTRATION OF THE NON-NUMERICAL MATHEMATICAL DISCOURSE OF LINGUISTICS*

By C. R. SANKARAN AND G. S. GAI

Paul Radin draws attention to the mathematico-logical nature of linguistics. Leonard Bloomfield[1] is foremost among modern linguisticians[2] to speak about the foundations of linguistics in the same way as foundations of logic and mathematics are spoken about by great thinkers like Carnap[3]. Bloomfield specially lays stress on the postulational method in linguistics[4] and speaks of the formulaic methods in linguistics as one belonging to the realm of non-numerical mathematical discourse[5]. In this paper, we mean to make an attempt to reduce the most important fundamental concepts in modern linguistics to a number of definitions, assumptions, phonetic laws, hypothesis, axioms and concepts and to suggest certain improvements in regard to them. The task we set ourselves is indeed ambitious. But we hope that an attempt of this kind is necessary as without a correct understanding of the fundamental concepts of the discipline it

---

* Read at the Hyderabad Oriental Conference in Dec. 1942.

1 PAUL RADIN, *The Method and Theory of Ethnology*.

2 L. BLOOMFIELD, *Language*, Vol. VII, 1931, pp.204-209; Vol. VIII, 1932. pp. 220-233; Vol. X. 1934, pp. 32-40; Linguistic aspects of Science, *Foundations of the Unity of Science*, Vol. 1, No. 4, The University of Chicago Press, 1939 Vide also E. SAPIR, "Totality" in *Language Monographs* Published by the Linguistic Society of America. No. VI, Sept. 1930.

3 R. CARNAP, Foundations of Logic and Mathematics (*Foundations of the Unity of Science, Vol. I, No. 3*, University of Chicago Press, 1939).

4 L. BLOOMFIELD, *A Set of Postulates for the Science of Language*, *Language* Vol. II, 1926, pp. 153-164.

5 L. BLOOMFIELD, *Linguistic Aspects of Science*, p. 44.

may not be fruitful to undertake any important investigation in linguistics, specially with reference to certain very important but very much neglected fields like the Dravidian where the scholars are very few and in which we are greatly interested. It is our belief that even as Dravidian scholars have necessarily to adopt the method evolved and perfected by the Indo-Europeanists alone, much work of real importance in the Dravidian field now cannot be done unless a grasp over the fundamentals of the Science is firmly made. Our objective in writing this paper will be therefore achieved if this essay at least introduces to a band of scholars determined to work on the Dravidian field the fundamental works in this branch of science (linguistics) by great scholars like Bloomfield. It is unfortunate that works like these are not receiving the attention they deserve in our country. It is hoped that this paper will serve also to remove the "prepossessions of our common-sense views about language,"[6] at least to a small extent.

First we will give the minimum number of definitions including those taken over from other sciences. Then we shall proceed to give some fundamental assumptions. Next in order will come certain fundamental phonetic laws of Indo-European Linguistics. These we shall call theorems. Then will come a few postulates, hypotheses, axioms and concepts and our suggested improvements.

I. *Definitions* :

(i) The subject matter of linguistics is human speech,[7] comprising various families of languages, like the Indo-European, Dravidian, Hamito-Semitic, Ural-Altaic, etc.

(ii) *Human Language* :

We give two definitions of 'Language' more or less accepted generally in modern times. One is from E. Sapir, a

---

[6] L. BLOOMFIELD, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

[7] *Ibid*, p. 54.

famous linguistician, and the other is from R. Carnap, a famous logician of the Vienna circle.

(a) "Language is purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions, desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols."[8] This definition has been discussed by us elsewhere.[9]

(b) "A language is a system of activities or, rather, of habits, i.e., dispositions to certain activities, serving mainly for the purposes of communication and of co-ordination of activities among the members of a group:"[10]

Linguistic science concerns itself with only "established natural languages that prevail in communities, and not of restricted systems of symbolism, such as appears in mathematics and logic."[11]

(iii) Language consists of two aspects—the bio-physical and the bio-social.

Sound-producing movements and the resultant sound-waves and the vibration of the hearer's eardrums go to make up the bio-physical aspect.[12]

The training of persons in a community to produce certain speech-sounds in certain situations and to respond to them by appropriate actions go to make up the bio-social aspect.[13]

---

8 EDWARD SAPIR, *Language*, p. 4.

9 Vide C. R. SANKARAN, "*Paget's Gestures Theory of the Origin of Human Speech*" published in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XXI pp. 229-247. 1941.

10 R. CARNAP, *Foundations of Logic and Mathematics*, p. 3.

11 I. BLOOMFIELD, *Linguistic Aspects of Science*, p. 6.

Cf. also "Language originated as the creation of rational beings in the necessities of their temporal experience as is evident, for example, in the tenses of the verb. The inherent tendency of the mathematical logic is in the direction of diminishing the impurity into reasoning by time-factor." H. D. OAKELEY, "*Epistemology and the logical syntax of Language*", *Mind*, Vol. XLIX, No. 196, October 1940, p. 438. See also footnote 77 below.

12 L. BLOOMFIELD, *op. cit*, pp. 8-9.

13 *Ibid.*, pp. 9 and 55.

F. 12

(iv) Certain typical unit signal sounds in certain fixed arrangements constitute the meaningful speech-form uttered by speakers in every community. These unit signal sounds have themselves no meaning. But phonemes may have an occasionally expressive value. This is purely a psychological question. A study of the relations between definite phonemes and definite elements of organic movements may perhaps help us to understand the occassionally expressive function of phonemes.[14] Every language is made up out of a small number of these signal sounds. These are called phonemes.[15] There has been an interesting controversy over the definition of phoneme. It is a moot question whether it can be ultimately defined as a physical or mental reality or "an abstractional fiction."[16]

Phonemes are classified under various heads: (a) the stop consonants like k, t, p, etc., (b) the nasal consonants like *n*, *ṇ*, *m*, etc., (c) the fricatives or continuants or spirants or sibilants and (d) vowels (or sonants) like *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, etc.

The interesting conclusion is reached by some scholars from a study of the Indo-European, Semitic, and African languages that the consonants are *more significant* than the

---

[14] Cf. A. W. De GROOT, *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen Afdeeling Letterkunde*, *Deel*, 65, Serie A, No. 2, Amsterdam, 1928, pp. 54-55; C.R. SANKARAN, *Bull. D. C. R. I.*, Vol. I, 1939 40, pp. 97 and 416; also C. R. SANKARAN, *Madras University Journal*, Vol. 8, 1936, p. 79, fns. 1 and 2.

[15] L. BLOOMFIELD, *Linguistic aspects of Science*, p. 21; W. F. TWADDELL, "On Defining the Phoneme" *Lang. Mono*, 16; M. J ANDRADE, *Language*, Vol. XII, 1936, pp. 1-14; M. SWADESH, *Language* Vol. X, 1934, pp. 117-129 and XI pp. 244-250; SAPIR, *Language* I, 1925, pp. 37-51; J. VACHEK, *Proceedings of 2nd International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*, London, 1936, pp. 40 ff.

In the following works "Phoneme" is defined from various points of view: TWADDELL, *Language*, XII, 1936, 53-59: pp. 294-97, M. SWADESH, *Language* XIII, 1937, pp. 1-10; E. SAPIR, "*Larealite* psychologique des phonemes" *Journal de Psychologie*, 30, pp. 247 ff.

[16] See TWADDELL, "On Defining *the phoneme*", pp. 37-51.

vowels *for the sense.*[17] This conclusion tallies with the significant name *vyañjana* given to the consonants by the ancient Indian Grammarians (*vyañjana—vyajyate anena*, "by which is manifested").

The consonants are further classified according to the place of articulation like the velars, palatals, dentals, labials, etc.

The distinction between a sonant and a consonant is really temporal, mathematically speaking. In other words, the duration of a sonant in utterance is longer than that of a consonant.[18] Hence we have the semi-vowels classified between the sonants and the consonants as the significant name *antaḥsthāḥ* (given by the ancient Indian grammarians), indicates.

Each language has certain special phonemes which may not be met with in other language. Sanskrit has the *Jihvāmūlīya* and the *upadhmānīya* which we find in words like *anta* (*ḥ*) *karaṇa* and *adha* (*ḥ*) *pāta* respectively.

In Tamil we have a special phoneme in words like *a*∴*tu* 'that'. The symbol ∴ is called traditionally the *āytam* or *āyutam*. In the oldest Tamil grammar *Tolkāppiyam*, half a dozen values are given to this sound. It is evident therefore that the Tamil in its oldest phase had a number of interesting variants of this phoneme.[19]

---

17 E. M. von HORNBOSTEL, "*Laut und Sinn*, "*Festschrift Meinhof*, 1927, pp. 329-348.

18 Vide C. R. SANKARAN, *Bull. D. C. R. I.*, p. 101, fn. 5.

19 See article on this subject by C.R. SANKARAN and N. K. SRINIVASAN in the Bull, *D. C. R. I.* Vol. II 1941.

Āytam is said to appear in the middle of words between a short sonant phoneme and one of a group of the six voiceless consonant phonemes followed by a sonant phoneme :

It has been found necessary to postulate the existence of certain special phonemes like the "long sonant" nasals and liquids in the Proto Indo-European *r̥*, *l̥*, *m̥*, *n̥*[20]. Acceptance of what is now known as, laryngeal hypothesis[21] in some form or other, however, leads to an entirely a new system of description of the PIE. sounds. In this system there is no place for *a*, *i*, *u*, *m̥*, *n̥*, *l̥*, *r̥*. [22]

Kuṟiyataṉ muṉṉar āyta-p pulli

Yuyiroṭu puṇarnta val lāṟaṉ micaittē (*Tol. Eḻut*. 38).

The group of six voiceless consonant phonemes referred to above are mentioned in the following sutra as *k*, *c*, *ṭ*, *t*, *p* and *ṟ* :

Vallelut tenpa ka-ca-ṭa ta-pa-ṟa-(*Tol.*, *Eḻut* 19 See also P. S. S. Sastri, *Hist. Grammat. Theories in Tamil*. p. 43. fn. 5)

The place of production of the *āytam* is determined by that of the consonant following it.

Cārntu-vari n-allatu tamakkiyal p-ila-v-eṉat

Tērntu-veli-p-paṭutta v-ēṉai mūṉṟum.

Tattañ cārpiṟ piṟappoṭu civaṇi.

Yotta kāṭciyiṟ ṟam-m-iyal p-iyalum (*Tol*, *Eḻut*. 101).

[20] Vide C. R. SANKARAN, "Theories about Ablaut," *JORM*, Vol. XIII, 1939., p. 314.

Vide also C. R. SANKARAN, "*Contributions in the Study of Indo-European Accent*," *Bull. D. C. R. I.*, Vol. II, 1940, p. 186.

"The fundamental tone material of the Indo-European languages" is discussed in Mark H. LIDDELL's "*The Physical Characteristics of Speech Sound*," *Bull. of Purdue University* (Publications of the Engineering Depts. Bull., No. 16, Engineering Experiment Station), Vol. VIII, March 1924, No. I pp. 12-14.

[21] Cf. C. R. SANKARAN, *JORM.*, Vol. XII, 1938, p. 280, fn. 3 and Vol. XIII, 1939, pp. 94-96. Vide also WALTER PETERSEN, *Language*, Vol. X, 1934, pp. 307-322, J. KURYLOWICZ, *BSL.*, Vol. 36, 1935, pp. 25-27. Scholars like A. B. KEITH (*IHQ*, Vol. 16, 1940, p 427), who have absolutely no sympathy for the laryngeal hypothesis in some form or other are also to be found.

[22] Cf. E. H. STURTEVANT, "From Sapir's Desk," *Language* Vol. 15, 1939, p. 181, fn.2. This view might be compared with an attempt to derive from a simple macro-phoneme of unstable medium quality in the PIE, what might have been originally its phonemic vatriants

(v) Phonemic variant. A phonemic variant is not distinct from the phoneme whose variant it is supposed to be, only when the sense is invariant. In other words the replacement of one phonemic variant (x_1) by another (x_2) does not affect the sense of the word. What may be only a phonemic variant in one language may be a distinct phoneme in another language.

Example : In Kannaḍa, at any rate as we find it written in modern times, there seems to be no phonemic distinction between the simple cerebral *r* (ઠ) and alveolar *r* (*ω*) phonemes and perhaps in Old Kannada they might have been phonemic variants merely. Similar is the status of the phonemes *l* (8) and *l* (*ω*.)[23]

In Tamil there are clearly two distinct phonemes *r* (simple cerebral) and *r* (alveolar *η*)

Another interesting example of phonetic variants in a language are *v* and *w* in the Indo-Aryan. In Sanskrit, we meet only with a single symbol (व) standing for both *v* and *w*.[24] Marathi *v* seems to be a bilabial (?) phoneme.[25] Even in the Dravidian, *v* and *w* seem to be only phonemic

---

e, *o* and *a* by the influence of the musical character of the IE accent. Cf. C. R. SANKARAN, *JORM*, Vol. XIII, 1939, p. 98.

See E. H. TUTTLE, *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 40, 1919, p. 77.

[23] TUTTLE thinks that the symbol ( ) (for possibly an older alveolar *r*) stood for a phoneme which was similar to the *costilian r r* in old Kannada and Telugu.

Modern Mysore Kannada has only the voiced 'clear' *l* (the tongue is put forward in the mouth in articulating this phoneme. Vide T. N. SREEKANTAIYA, "English as the Kannaḍiga speaks it," *Bulletin of Phonetic Studies*, Mysore, No. I, October, 1940. p. 16) Tamil *l* is also "very clearly pronounced with the tip of the tongue touching the teeth ridge near the teeth." See FIRTH, Appendix to A. H. ARDEN's Tamil Grammar, 1934, p. XIV.

[24] The former seems to have replaced the latter except after less sonorous sounds, cf. WHITNEY, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 57.

[25] JULES BLOCH, *Formation do la langue marathe*, Paris 1915, Section 153.

variants, for as CALDWELL points out, *w* is generally used for *v* in the spoken Kannaḍa and sometimes in Tamil. As there is the change of *w* from *v* in Indo-Portuguese most likely due to the influence of the neighbouring Indo-Aryan and Dravidian tongues,[26] in that language also *v* and *w* are, now at any rate, only phonemic variants. In Tamil the *v* is a lax frictionless continuant.[27] T. N. Sreekantaiya observes that the Mysore Kannaḍa has the trilled lingual *r* which according to him is a one-tap sound having a number of interesting variants.[28] T. N. Sreekantaiya further points out that the Mysore Kannaḍiga fails to distinguish between *v* and *w* as in his dialect the labiodental continuant is the only distinct phoneme of this type, the bi-labial articulation occurring mostly when a back vowel follows it.[29]

For definitions of morpheme, word, phrase and sentence we refer the reader to L. Bloomfield's paper "*A set of Postulates for the Science of Language.*"[30]

(vi) Analogy is a levelling factor in human speech.

---

[26] *Revista lusitana*, Vol. 6, p. 67; Vol. 9, p. 150 quoted by E. H. TUTTLE, in *AJP* Vol. 40, 1919, p. 78.

[27] FIRTH, Appendix to ARDEN'S *Tamil Grammar*, 1934, p. XVII.

[28] T. N. SREEKANTAIYA, *Bulletin of Phonetic Studies*, No. I., Mysore, October, 1940, p. 16 and footnote.

[29] *Op.*, 4.

[30] *Language* vol. II, 1926, p. 153 and fn. 3; pp. 155-56; and p. 158. Vide also L. BLOOMFIELD, *Language*, VII, 1931, p. 208. A "morpheme" is a molecule-analogue according to BLOOMFIELD'S definition (*Language* Vol. II. p. 155). There are different definitions of morpheme. Thus ANDRADE (*Handbook of American Indian Languages*, Vol. III, edited by F. BOAS, p. 178, fn. 1) calls a special class of morphemes in Quileute "free morphemes," for they free in most of the cases in which they occur. Vide also O. J. SPERSEN, *Analytic Syntax*, pp. 106-107, however (*ibid*,. p. 107), prefers BRUGMANN's term *formans* (*I.E.* 14.1; *Kurze vgl. Gram*, p. 185) to morpheme. For further definitions of linguistic terminologies see J. MAROUZEAU's *Lexique de la terminologie linguistique*, Paris, 1933 and also ALFRED SCHMITT's *Probe eines Worterbuchs der sprachwissenschaftlichen Terminologie* (Cf. *Indogermanische Forschungen*, Vol. 51, 1933, pp. 1-18).

II. *Assumptions* :

A minimum number of assumptions are taken over from other sciences.[31] For instance, the assumption that the pitch accent came to replace the original stress accent on the same syllable in the PIE is based on a physiological fact.[32]

(i) A non-functional variation in one language may be functional distinction in another[33].

In Vedic Sanskrit, we have *āṅgūṣam* side by side with āṅghūṣam (both meaning the same). Similarly we have *gōṣadasi* side by side with *ghōṣadasi* (used in the same sense). Perhaps in a Vedic dialect, *g* and *gh* were phonemic variants as evident from these examples[34]. But in Sanskrit saṅga and *saṅgha*, *g* and *gh* were distinct phonemes. Witness again Tamil *maram* ( ) " valour," etc :[35] and Tamil *maram* ( ) " tree " (Tel. *mrānu*, Kan. Ṭulu *mara*, Mal. *maram*).[36] Tamil *maṇam* ( ) "union" (as of lovers); marriage (Tel. *manuvu*, Mal. *maṇam*.)[37] Tamil *manam* ( ) "mind," "will,"[38]

---

[31] L. BLOOMFIELD *Language*, Vol. VIII, p. 221, and *Linguistic Aspects of Science*, p. 48.

[32] E. H. STURTEVANT, *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, Vol. 42, 1911, p. 50.

Vide also C. R. SANKARAN, *Bull. D. C. R. I.*, Vol. II, 1940, p. 185, fn. 1.

[33] L. BLOOMFIELD, *Language*, p. 101. See also R. G. KENT *Language*, Vol. X, 1934, pp. 41-42.

[34] C. R. SANKARAN, "Accentual variation in relation to Semantic Variation," *JORM*, Vol. X, 1936, p. 315-16. Perhaps in an earlier phase of the PIE. *k* and *g* were also merely phonemic variants (and not two different phonemes). Hence (**mig-skō*) **mik-skō* > Latin *misceo*, Greek *misgō* (H. HIRT, *Idg. Gram.* Teil IV, 1928, pp. 232 and 336). Cf. also the view that *misgō* < *mik-skō*, -*g*-for-*k* is taken to be after the analogy of *migîūmi*, *emngēn* (see WRIGHT *Comp. Gr. of Girk.*, Section 458, p. 281. See also my paper *NIA*, 1939 p. 635).

[35] *Tamil Lexicon*, Vol. V, Pt. 4, p. 3118.

[36] *Ibid.*, Vol V, Pt. 4, p. 3086.

[37] *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Pt. 3, p. 3037.

[38] *Ibid.*, Vol. V., Pt. 4, p. 3134.

The simple *r* and alveolar *r* are distinct phonemes in Tamil. Likewise there is opposition between the retroflex flagpednasul *ṇ* and the alveolar *n*,[39] as shown by the above instances.

For a complete list of assumptions in modern linguistics we would again refer the reader to L. Bloomfield's paper "*A Set of Postulates, etc.*"[40]

III. Fundamental Phonetic Laws in Indo-European Linguistics--Theorems.

(i) Law of Palatalization :

This is a wel-known law in Indo-European Linguistics. It sums up the correspondence between the guttural phoneme found in words like Latin *que* and the palatal phoneme found in words like Sanskrit *ca* by stating that the PIE. **que* > Skt. *ca* under specific conditions (*i.e.* when the original labiovelar phoneme is followed by a palatal sonant phoneme).

(ii) Grimm's Law of Germanic soundshift :

This law establishes correlation between certain postulated consonant stop phonemes in Indo-European and their correspondences in Germanic dialects. There is one to one correspondence between these two sets. The original media are changed into tenuis in OHG.

The original tenuis are changed into aspirates (spirants) in OHG.

The original 'aspirates' are changed into media in OHG.[41]

(iii) Verner's Law :

This famous law was formulated by Verner in 1877.[42]

---

39 See FIRTH's Appendix to ARDEN's *Tamil Grammar*, pp. XII-XIII.

40 L. BLOOMFIELD, *Language*, Vol. II, pp. 153 ff.

41 HERMANN COLLITZ, "A Century of Grimm's Law," *Language*, Vol. II, 1926, pp. 175-176.

42 KARL VERNER, Eine Ausnahme der ersten Lautvershiebung," *Kuhn's Zeitschtrift*, Band 23, pp. 97-130.

It relates to the correlation between PIE. accent and the voicing of the intervocalic spirant.

(iv) Grassman's Law of Deaspiration in Sanskrit and Greek :

Grassmann showed the necessity of assuming in a number of PIE. roots both an initial and final aspirate of which the former loses its aspiration in Sanskrit and Greek.[43]

For Example, PIE.* *bheudh* *bōdh*—(Skt.)

Grassmann's law removes an apparent irregularity in the shifting of the Indo-European media (Grimm's law).[44]

There are likewise various other *Sound-laws* (our *theorems*) summing up correspondences between different phonemes of various individual IE. languages and they are generally known by the names of those scholars who first formulated them. Some of these are :

1. Brugmann's law which assumes the existence of a special vowel phoneme in PIE. (symbolized by *a* in order to explain the correspondence of Skt. *a* in open syllables with O in other languages.[45] But C. D. Buck[46] explains the length of the vowels of Sanskrit as a product of analogy and analogical extension.[47]

2. SIEVER's law in Vedic and Indo-European : SIEVER formulated this law in 1878 in the 5th Volume of

---

[43] GRASSMANN, "Ueber die Aspiraten and ihr gleichzeitiges Vorhandensein im An und Auslaut der Wurzeln," *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, Band, 12, pp. 81-138. For implications of *Grassmann's* law in Dynamic Philology, see G. K. ZIPF, *The psycho-biology of Language*, pp. 81 ff.

[44] H. COLLITZ, *Language*, Vol. II, pp. 177. Cf. also R. G. KENT, "The sounds of Latin," *Language Monograps*, No. 12, p.79 (the Linguistics Society of America, 1932).

[45] Vide BRUGMANN, Grundiass I², pp. 153-6.

[46] AJP. 17. pp. 445-72.

[47] Cf. also H. HIRT, IG., 2. 19; E. H. STURTEVANT, *language*, Vol. VII, pp. 115-124. R. G. KENT, *The Sounds of Latin*, p. 25, fn. 8. See also C. R. SANKARAN, *Bull. D.C R.I.* Vol. II, 1940, p. 186, fn. 4.

Paul and Braune's Beitrage[48] as follows: "unbetontes (nicht svaritiertes) *i* oder *u* vor einem vocal ist Konsonant nach kurzer, Vokal nach langer Silbe ohne Rücksicht auf die sonstiga Akzentlage des Wortes."[49]

3. HOLTZMAN's law that IE **i j*>(in certain Germanic languages) *dd*j. *ggj* (Examples: Gothic *tuaddjē* old Norse *tueggia*; Skt. dvāyōs) and IE *uw>(in certain Germanic languages) *ggw* (Examples: IE *drewā Gothic triggwa "alliance"; Old Norse tryggvar (pl.) 'trust.'[2] OHG *triuwa*, *treuwa* 'faith.'[50]

4. BARTHOLOMAE's law[51]: Voiced explosive aspirate plus voiceless consonant becomes voiced explosive plus voiced aspirate in Indo-Iranian.

IV. *Postulates*:

(i) The Invariability of Phonetic Law:-

This assumption is implicit in *Verner's* formulation of his famous law[52]. There has been a good deal of controversy over this postulate.[53] It is now replaced by the postulate "phonemes change", (*i. e.* sound-changes occur in disregard to meaning)[54]. L. Bloomfield seems to think that "any

---

48 pp. 129 ff.

49 Cf. E. EDGERTON, *Language*, Vol. X, 1934, pp. 235-265. Cf. also C. R. SANKARAN, "Theories about Ablaut," *JORM*; XII, 1938, p. 281. fn. 6.

50 Cf. E. PROKOSCH, *A Comparative Germanic Grammar*, pp. 92-93; C. R. SANKARAN in the old, 1939. Vol. III. p. 87.

51 Cf. A. MEILLET, *Les Dialectes Indo-Européens*, p. 25; A. L. KROEBER and CHRETIEN, *Language*, 13, 1937, p. 89, JULES BLOCH, *BSL*; XXVI, p. 6; C. R. SANKARAN **gm-skō or *gm-skhō* (to be published shortly in Indian Linguistics).

52 L. BLOOMFIELD, *Language*, Vol. VIII, 1932, p. 225.

53 LESKIEN, *Declination in Slavischlitauischen und Germanischen*, 1876, Einleitung, XXVII; WECHSLER, *Gibt es Lautgesetz?* WHEELER, TAPA, 32, 6; E. HERMANN, *Lautgesetz und Analogie*, Berlin, 1931; O. JESPERSEN, *Phonetische Grundfragen*, 1904, pp. 142-182. For the earlier bibliography on phonetic laws. See Von GINNEKEN, *Principles de linguistique psychologique*. p. 462. 1907. See also J. VENDRYES, *Languages* (translated into English by Paul RADIN), p. 42; W. L. GRAFF, *Language and Languages*, pp. 240.

54 L. BLOOMIELD, *Language*, Vol. VIII, P. 227.

speech form of the language is completely and rigidly definable as a linear or a quasi-linear sequence of phonemes". However, the various postulated sequential changes of the sound complex in-skh (eg. in **gṃ-skhō*) as *skh>sk'x'>st's*[55] where we have both assimilation and dissimilation[56] the combination of phonemes seems to be neither linear nor quasi-linear and we are led to think that it is of a definite composite character. Thus we have if φ represents the function of the phoneme, φ (*f*) may have different speech-forms and meanings which are determined by coordinates in time and space i.e. $\varphi = \varphi(f, t, s)$ and $\frac{\partial\psi}{\partial s} \neq 0$, $\frac{\partial\psi}{\partial f} \neq 0$, also $\frac{\partial\psi}{\partial t} \neq 0$, If Grassmann's law were interpreted that in the so-called linear sequence of phonemes (in the same root in the PIE where X_2 and Y_2 are successive aspirates occurring in successive syllables) Y_2, is responsible for changing X_2 into X_1[57] (non-aspirate) confirms our theory. Further support is lent to our theory by the fact that PIE *i* and *u* are derived from * *eyd*, *ewd*, and similarly *ṇ* *ṛ*, etc, are derived from *end*, *erd*. It is again a confirmation to our theory that some scholars realise the possibility of the distinction of palatal stops from velar stops in the earlier phase of the proto IE developing by the influence of the following vowels and semi-vowels. For instance palatal

Palatal *k>k +e, i* or *y*
Velar *q>k +a, o, u* or *w*.
Labiovelar *qw>ku+ a* vowel[58].

---

[55] C. R. SANKARAN, *NIA*, Vol. I, No. 10, 1939, p. 633.

[56] For a full discussion on assimilation and dissimilation s c R. G. KENT, *Language*, Vol. XII, 1936, pp. 245-58.

[57] I am indebted to my friend Mr. P. JAGANNATHAN for making the mathematical aspect of the question clear to me.

[58] Cf. E. H. STURTEVANT, *Language* 6, pp. 213-228. also R. G. KENT, "the Sounds of Latin," *Language Monograph* No. XII, 1932, Page 25.

One wonders whether even Patañjali made an implicit acceptance of this postulate as he begins his great *Mahābhāṣya* with the significant statement :—*atha gauhityatra kaḥ śabdaḥ*. He ends this discussion also significantly with the words :—*sa Śabdaḥ*[59]. It is remarkable that he uses the word *śabdaḥ* and not *arthaḥ* here, which strongly leads us to suspect whether he too, like Karl Verner, *implicitly*, accepted the postulate " Phonemes Change "[60]

(ii) Analogy works in direct opposition to phonetic law. This postulate lies at the basis of our positing a sufficiently long but not a very long interval between the stress-dominating and the pitch-dominating phases in the PIE[61].

(iii) Borrowing : A language or a group or a family of languages borrows from another language or a group or a family of languages when the speakers of the different speech-communities come together[62].

(iv) Primeval Relationship : Some distinct families of human languages are supposed by certain scholars to have been originally related, e.g. Finno-Ugrian, Munda and Dravidian[63]. However the view of the neo-grammarians that 'borrowing' and 'primeval relationship' are entirely two different concepts is being slowly abandoned by some

---

[59] Kielhorn's ed. of the *Mahābhāṣya*, vol. I, 1892, p. 2, lines 6-11.

[60] L. BLOOMFIELD, *Language*, Vol VIII, p.226, Cf. S. KROESCH, *Language*, Vol. VI, 1926, pp. 35-45. Vide also E. A. ESPER, "A Technique for the experimental investigation of associative interference in artificial linguistic material," *Language Monographs* (published by the Linguistic Society of America), No. I, November 1925.

[61] Vide C. R. SANKARAN, *JORM*, Vol. VIII, 1934, p. 147 and also *Bull. D. C. R. I.*, Vol. II, p. 199.

[62] L. BLOOMFIELD, *Language*, Vol. VIII, 1932, p.. 226.

[63] W. VON HEVESY, *Finnisch-Ugrisches aus Indien*, Vienna, 1932; *Neue finishch-Ugrisch sprachen* (Die Mundasprachen Indiens) 1935, *Atti del congresso di Linguistics Tenuto in Roma*. F. OTTO SCHRADER, *Zeitschrift fur Indologie und Iranistik*, Vol. 3, pp. 107-109, 1925, *BSOS*, Vol. 8, 1930, p. 751 ff.

modern linguisticians[64]. This new idea is very complicated as it involves a deep insight in the modern developments of several branches of science like sociology, ethnology, psycology and anthropology[65].

V. *Hypotheses* :

(i) The natural hypothesis about the development of human language: According to this hypothesis, the PIE tongue was of a simple isolating structure, only structure, only superficially resembling the modern analytic type, the one reflecting fragmentary thinking and the other the developed analytic thinking[65].

(ii) Reduction of complex to simple in the development of human speech : Some believe that there has been a continuous movement from complex to simple structure and that man's earliest speech was of a complex structure. This is in direct opposition to the natural hypothesis[67].

VI. *Axioms and Concepts in Modern Linguistics*—

The discovery of Hittite and Tocharian in recent times, while invalidating many old hypotheses like the *Satem-Centum*[68] has reacted very strongly upon the methods of modern linguistics.

---

64 C. C. UHLENBECK, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 39, 1937, p. 390.

65 *Ibid*, p. 391 ff. Vide C. R. SANKARAN and G. S. GAI, "Some ethnopsychological features in Dravidian," *Bull. D. C. R. I.*, Vol. II, 1940, p. 208.

66 Vide C. R. SANKARAN, *The Journal of the Madras University*, 1936, Vol. VIII, pp. 68-78; also Vol. XI, p. 200; also C. R. SANKARAN, *NIA*, Vol. I, p. 744; and C. D. BUCK, *Comp. Gramm. of Greek and Latin*, p. 65.

67 FRANZ BOAS, *The mind of Primitive Man*, 1938, p. 172 and his *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, *Bull.* 40, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, 1911.

68 Vide C. R. SANKARAN, *NIA*, Vol. 3, 1940, pp. 40-46.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, when linguistic science first had its origin in Europe, scholars contended themselves in instituting comparisons merely with the vocables of one language with those of another (belonging of course to the same group or family) irrespective of the time-factor. In other words, a speech-form which might have been used by speakers belonging to a particular community in remote historic past as evidenced from the oldest literary records like the Veda, could be easily compared without any compunction on the part of these scholars, with a very late speech-form in history (separated no doubt by several centuries) met with in another cognate language like Lithuanian. It was this method which led mainly to hypothesis like the *Satem-Centum*. A revision of this method necessitated by the discovery of Hittite and Tocharian, has led in modern times to the formulation of two fundamental axioms in linguistics[69].

They are the following :—

(i) Linguistic facts of a particular language or a group or a family of languages must first be studied on a strictly *diachronic* scale.

(ii) Then only linguistic facts of a particular language or a group or family of languages could and should be compared with similar facts of another cognate language or a group or family of languages *belonging to the same period* (whether historic or prehistoric). This is the concept of *synchronic linguistics* in modern times.

Taking Tamil and Kannaḍa, two important Dravidian languages, we can illustrate the method schematically as seen below :

---

[69] Vide S. M. KATRE, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XX, 1940, p. 277.

	TAMIL		KANNADA	
1.	Reconstructed Tamil of 4th B.C.		Reconstructed Kannada of the 4th Cent. B.C.	
2.	Tolkāpiyam 3rd B.C.		Kannada of 3rd B.C.	
3.	*Sangam* Literature : 1st A.D.		Kannada of 1st A.D.	
			Inscriptions from 5th to 8th Centuries	
4.	Tiruvacagum Tevaram Prabandhan	10th A.D. roughly	Kavirāumarga Pampa Bhārata Gadāyuddha Inscription	9th and 10th Centuries A.D.
5.	Kamparāmāyana : 12th A.D.		Pamparāmāyana Sabdamanidarpana Inscriptions	12th Cent. A.D.
6.	Minor poets: 16th Cent. A.D.		Mahābhārata of Vyasa Channabasavapurana Inscriptions	16th Cent. A.D.
7.	Modern Tamil : 20th century A.D.		Modern Kannada : 20th Century A.D.	

Synchronic (Simultaneity in time) and diachronic scale (sequence in time) between Tamil and Kannada

Benveniste[70] and Kurylowicz[71] have been foremost in giving expression to this conception of *diachronic-synchronic* linguistics in modern times. This conception ought not to be confused with the conception of the early linguisticians like De Saussure[72]. According to the latter, Pāṇini's grammar, for instance, deals with *synchronic* linguistics. Or for that matter, the Tamil grammar *Tolkāppiyam* and the Kannaḍa Grammar *Śabdamaṇidarpana* deal with synchronic linguistics. But the whole fabric of the comparative grammar of Indo-European languages, built up by the neo-grammarians like *Brugmann*, was to De Saussure *diachronic* linguistics. This conception is certainly very inadequate in the light of modern discoveries, which have as we have seen, necessitated the revision of older assumptions. It is hoped by many modern scholars that the formulation of the new fundamental conception in linguistics by Benveniste and Kurylowicz might ultimately lead even to the revision of what hitherto has been supposed to be fundamental assumptions in Indo-European linguistics for which the *Junggrammatiker* like Burgmann were mainly responsible. In short, Benveniste and Kurylowicz have definitely made a fundamental contribution in our times to that branch of science called linguistics whose object of study is human speech (Def. 1).

Linguistic science started with the idea that linguistic facts are primarily physical (accoustics). The two aspects of language (def. iii) were neither distinctly recognised nor inefficiently emphasised by earlier linguisticians. They thought that in the last analysis speech-forms were reducible only to physical sounds. This was supposed to be the implication of the various phonetic laws (theorems), some of

---

[70] BENVENISTE, *Origines de la formation des noms en Indo-Européen* I, Paris, 1935.

[71] KURYLOWICZ. *Etudes indo-européen.*

[72] DE SAUSSURE, *Cours de linguistic generale*, 3rd ed. Paris, p. 114-134.

which we have seen[73]. This physical or physiological approach was abandoned with the advent of Darwin in favour of the evolutionary doctrine[74]. But language is not an organism either, which might concern purely an evolutionist.[75] But if we define organism as a special type of space-time structure[76] then language also may be called an 'organism' especially because any scientifically meaningful statement reports movement in space and time :—in other words, every speech-form has its co-ordinates in space and time[77]. But in this sense the word 'organism' seems never to have been used in the 19th century.

At the same time language is not shapeless and fleeting as the uninitiated suppose it to be. This other extreme view that speech dies out as soon as it is uttered, is equally wrong and must therefore be rejected by a man of science[78].

---

73 W. M. URBAN, *Language and Reality*, London, 1939, p. 60.

74 Ch. BALLY, *la Langue et la vie*, Paris, 1913, p. 14.

75 "The evolutionary prejudice which instilled itself into the social sciences towards the middle of the last century is now only beginning to abate its tyrannical hold on the mind." E. SAPIR, *Language*, p. 130, Cf. also W. M. URBAN, *Language and Reality, pp.* 731-734.

76 V. F. LENZEN, *Prevalence of Empirical Science*, (Foundations of the Unity of Science, Vol. I. No. 5, 1938), p.3.

77 C. R. SANKARAN, *A Volume of Indian and Iranian Studies presented to Sir Denison Ross*, Bombay, 1939, p. 360, see fn. 54 above. It may be remembered here that "in so far as the attempt to make the structure of language superior to temporal forms is successful it ceases to be language." See also fn. 11 above. SAPIR, indeed contends (*Language*, Vol. I, pp. 37 and 51) that the speech-sounds are not to be taken merely as mechanical processes, consummated by the organs of speech and by the nerves that control them as a set of shifts in relatively simple sensori-motor habits and that "phonetic phenomena are not physical phenomena *per se*." He points out (*ibid*, p. 51) the necessity to get behind the sense data of any type of expression in order to grasp the intuitively felt and communicated forms which alone give significance to such expression.

78 L. BLOOMFIELD, *Linguistic Aspects of Science*, p. 5.

Now linguistics tends towards what is described by one scholar as the phenomenological[79] (in a special sense!) attitude. It lays emphasis upon the concept of the primacy of meaning which is more than a psychological notion[80]. This *Gestalten* view seems to have been adopted by many modern students of linguistics[81]. Instead of starting from phonemes first, the modern student seems to start with the whole discourse and comes back to the phoneme last via sentences, words, phrases and morphemes. But when we take the notion of meaning into consideration, there are very serious difficulties. For one thing meaning cannot be reduced

---

[79] Vide W. M. URBAN, *Language and Reality*, pp. 134-35 and 282. The word "phenomenology" is wrongly used in several senses. But here it is used more or less in the same sense in which it is used by K. KOFFKA (*Principles of Gestalt Psychology*, 1935, p. 73) but more precisely in the sense in which it is used by W. M. URBAN (*loc. cit.*). According to K. KOFFKA, phenomenology means that kind of observation which inevitably leads to as thorough a description as possible of theories and indicates definite features which a true theory must possess (witness for instance my postulation of two stages of *Karmadhāraya* compound formation in the PIE in my paper published in *the Madras Univ. Journal*, Vol. VIII, 1936, pp. 85-86).

[80] WUNDT, *Volkerpsychologie* especially Vol. I *Die Sprache*; PILLSBURY, *The Psychology* of *Language* pp. 7,14; LEVY-BRUHL, *Fonctions mentales dans les societies inferieures*; ("How Natives Think" translated into English by LILIANA. CLARE), W. M. URBAN, *op. cit.* p. 61. It is interesting to note here that W. L. GRAFF points out that both the phonetic and semantic aspects ought to be taken into consideration when we define word and sentence. (W. L. GRAFF, *Language*, Vol. V, 1929. pp. 163-88). The psychological stage in linguistics is illustrated in SAPIR'S contention that even phonetic laws are not mechanical but they are psychological. Cf. also KANRAD HENTRICH, "Zum Vernerschen Gesetz". *Beitrage zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, Vol. XLV, 1921, pp. 300 ff; GINLIO-PANCONCEL Li-CALZIA, Die *experimentelle Phonetik*, pp. 44-45. W. L. GRAFF, *Language*, pp. 182-183; S. SAPIR, *Language* Vol. I. pp. 37-51; See also my paper *IE *gm-skhō* or **gm-sko* ?

It is useful to remember that H. D. OAKELEY contends (*Mind*, Vol. XLIX, No. 196, October, 1940, pp. 427-444, see especially p. 433) that the laws of syntax can never be abstracted from the meaning and that logic cannot be identified with the syntax of language without reference to the meaning just as prof. CARNAP maintains.

[81] Gunther IPSEN, *Sprachphilosophie der Gegenwart*, 1930; W. M. URBAN. op. *cit.*, p. 62.

to strictly quantitative analysis[82]. We have suggested elsewhere[83] that the various physical and physiological implications of Paget's Gesture theory of the origin of the human speech, when worked out in great detail, might help us to get over this end and other difficulties. Here it may be remarked that L. Bloomfield clearly points out that the correlation between the stimulus acting on a speaker (i.e. the meaning) and the speech-form which he utters is not easy to demonstrate. We use the word "apple" for instance, even when, there is no apple in sight. This is the power of displaced speech. Hence the correlation between the meaning and speech-form is merely an assumption incapable of direct proof. The latter may be supplied when physiology has reached a state of perfection which is at present inconceivable[84]. In the present state of our knowledge it is best that we do not resort to mentalistic terms in this matter[85].

---

82 G. K. ZIPF, *The Psycho-Biology of Language*, p. 157.

83 C. R. SANKARAN, " Paget's gesture theory of the origin of Human Speech " (to be published in *the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*).

84 L. BLOOMFIELD, *Language*, Vol X, pp. 35-36, and " *Language or Ideas ?* " *Language*, Vol. XII, 1936 p. 95.

85 L. BLOOMFIELD, *Linguistic Aspects of Science*, p. 12-13.

THE CRESCENT AS AN EMBLEM OF ISLAM *

By M. NAIMUR-REHMAN

The crescent and the star—and particularly the former—have now been universally recognised as emblematic of Islam. Relentlessly used in the fields of literature, history and politics the twain seem to have come to stay as concomitants of Islam and all that it may connote. Little did the Turks know, quite five centuries ago now, that their brilliant victory over Byzantium and their innocent glorying in adopting her crescent as an emblem of their sovereignty would result in stamping Islam with that ultra-heathen mark for an indefinitely long time to come. And five centuries make a period long enough to arm a fond writer on superstition with courage enough to enable him to say that the crescent is "The Sacred sign of Mohammed today"[1], and to believe that like the Christian Cross and the Jewish Star the Crescent also is an emblem of the Muslims "indicating the highest ideal of the faith,"[2] and that a "pious Mohammedan regards the Crescent as the passport to the realms of bliss,............[3]" Other unfortunate facts like this have similarly emboldened some "doctors" to speak of a *Muhammedan mythology*[4] and to mention the number 7 as "*highly revered* in Muhammedan

---

* Read at the Twelfth Oriental Conference held at Benares, 1943.

[1] P. F. Waterman, *The Story of Superstition* (Grosset and Dunlap, London, 1929), p. 142.

[2] Ibid., p. 157.

[3] Ibid. Luckily, though, he goes on to say: "without a thought that the symbol was in use long before the Prophet of Allah was born, and amongst those nations which it was the Prophet's mission to convert or destroy."

[4] So Dr. Baini Prashad in his translation of the *Qānūn-i-Humāyūnī* (Calcutta, 1940), p. 48, note 4.

theology."[5] While no one gifted with reason and knowledge will be prepared to believe that the Crescent has anything to do with the idea of Islam or the creed of the Muslims, such remarks and observations as above, made by responsible writers and scholars, may cause, and have caused, untold mischief by way of further spreading the erstwhile prevalent—and most of them patently wilful—misrepresentations about Islam and its tenets.

It is, therefore, proposed to study in these pages the truth about the relation of the Crescent (and the star) to Islam. Let us follow the career of these deities through the ages, before Islam finally shut them up into the heathen pantheon.

1. In Egypt the God Amen-Ra, considered to be the general source of life, and identified with the Creator of the universe, was also the moon-god in his form of Khensu[6]. The star Sept marked the spring and the approach of the inundation of the Nile. She was the deity of the cultivated lands and fields and of flood[7]. Isis, depicted as a woman wearing a crown surmounted by a pair of horns, was the virgin moon. Interestingly enough, this is also the head-dress of Maia, the mother of the Indian Buddha, and forms the halo of Ishtar, Hathor, Artemis and Diana[8]. Waterman regards even the sign of the Omega as the same "Crescent, the Virgin moon of Isis, the mysterious sign of the horse-shoe[9]." Once every year the swine was sacrificed to

---

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 49, note 6. It is significant that his referee (Huges *Dictionary of Islam*, pp. 558, 569, 570) makes no mention of this "high reverence" of the Muslims for 7.

[6] L. Spence, *Myths and Legends of Ancient Egypt* (Harrap, London, 1925), p. 141.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

[8] P. F. Waterman, *The Story of Superstition*, p. 142.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 159.

Osiris and the Moon, which was also the father of Isis.[10] We shall hear more of Isis in the following pages.

2. In Babylonia and Assyria, the lunar worship was older than solar worship, and was widely prevalent. The moon was regarded as the father not only of the sun but of the stars also. It was the "great steer with mighty horns and perfect limbs."[11] Moisture being regarded as the principle of life, moon and water-worship were closely connected. The blood of animals and the sap of plants were vitalized by the water of life and were under control of the moon.[12] The chief city of the lunar deity (Nannar or Sin) was the ancient city of Ur, whence Abraham migrated to Harran, where Baal (the Lord) was also a moon-god. The moon-god of Sumeria was regarded as "the friend of man" in Arabia, Egypt and throughout ancient Europe. He gave fertility to the soil, increased flocks and herds, and gave offsprings to human beings. At Ur he was the "Lord and prince of the gods, supreme in heaven and the father of all," and was also called Anu, who was the sky-god with a lunar character.[13] The moon-god Sin was the patron-god of Ur, and it was to him that the Assyrian kings traced the formation of their kingdom.[14] Like the lunar Orisis in Egypt he was an instructor of mankind, and lent its name to the mountains of Sinai. The moon measured time and controlled the seasons and the crops. Its spirit inhabited the moon-stone. Thus the luminary was connected with the earth-worship, stone-worship and water-worship. The consort of Nannar (moon) was Nin-Uruwa (the lady of Ur.). The twin children of the moon were Mashu and Mashtu, a brother

---

10 D. A. Mackenzie, *Myths of Babylonia and Assyria* (Gresham, London) p. 100.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 289-90.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 45.

13 *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 52.

14 A. H. Sayce, *Assyria*, p. 77.

and sister, like the lunar girl and boy of the Teutonic mythology immortalised in the English nursery rhymes as Jack and Jill[15]. Like the Egyptian Isis and Osiris, Nannar was also bisexual, and was sometimes addressed as father and mother in one[16]. Though the lord of the pantheon was a solar deity, yet in astronomical science the independent rank of the moon was preserved, and she occupied the first position in the list of the planets[17].

Babylonia was doubtlessly the birthplace of astrology and the cradle of astronomy. The Babylonians regarded the stars as pictorial designs on the heavens and described them as "writings of heaven," a conception, which Jastrow believes was, borrowed from the pictorial writing of the cuneiform script[18]. The Lord Merodach set all the great gods in their stations, who in their turn created their images, the stars of the Zodiac[19]. Likewise, the religious beliefs of the Sumarians had stellar associations from the earliest known times. The great and abiding influence the stars were supposed to have on human lives and affairs exalted the stars in their esteem as so many deities, who were members of an organised pantheon. They were as much manifestations of a Power as "the world soul" of the Brahmans of the post-Vedic age of India[20]. Among the stars the chief Banylonian goddess was Ishtar, *the* Star, the "world-mother." daughter of the Moon-god[21]. She presided over love and war, and was invoked as "the queen of heaven," the "queen of all the gods." She was Ashtoreth of the Canaanites,

---

15 Mackenzie, p. 53.

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 161-2, 297-8.

17 M. Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 461.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 454.

19 Mackenzie, p. 147.

20 It is highly probable that the word *star* owes its derivation to this very deity's name.

21 A. H. Sayce, *Assyria*, p. 78.

Astarte of the Greeks, and Artemis of the Ephesians[22]. When the Moon came to be considered as a female deity, Ishtar became also the goddess of the moon. Hence it was that Astrate had "Crescent horns"[23]. While in Assyria and Babylonia the mass of the people worshipped the stars as a whole, the worship of the moon was very extensive in the East. The Israelites were warned by their scripture not to pay worship to the heavenly bodies[24]. The Moon was Coelestis in Syria, al-Lat in Arabia, and Diana, Minerva, Bellona among the Greeks[25]. The Persian poetry and literature style the Patriarch Joseph as "the moon of Canaan."

Farbridge has mentioned some interesting instances of symbolical representations that call for notice here. On a seal now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, Shamash (the Sun) is represented by a horn-capped deity. There is a star in front of him, and a crescent behind him. Two boundary stones of the Babylonian times (B. C. 1320 to 1170 found at Susa and now in the Louvre, contain on one side a crescent moon symbolising Sin, a solar disc for Shamash, and an eight-pointed star for Ishtar. The moon's crescent also suggested the sight of a sailing barque, and the moongod is, therefore, described in various Sumerian hymns as sailing along the heavens in a ship. Sin's representation with a *horn* also suggested the appearance of a heifer, so that this deity is often described as a powerful bull ; and in one of the hymns addressed to her she is described as a "strong bull, great of horns, perfect in form[26] . . . "

---

22 *Ibid.*, p. 79.

23 *Ibid* p. 79.

24 *Deutronomy*, IV, 9; XVII, 3.

25 A. S. Rappoport, *Myths and Legends of Ancient Israel* (Gresham, London, 1928), I, 16.

26 *Studies in Biblical and Semitic Symbolism* (Trubner, London, 1923), pp. 159, 162, 192, 193.

3. In India—we are so well aware that Lord Shiva, the creator, preserver and destroyer of three worlds, wears a crescent-moon on his forehead. It has been celebrated by the poets in their poetry. Kālidāsa calls him "crescent-crowned," and mentions his crescent-diadem and moon at four places in his immortal *Megha-dūta*[27]. In the early Brahmanic and Buddhistic writings he is known as "the bearer of the moon[28]." Indra and Agni are identified with the phases of the moon, the former being the new and the latter the full moon. Similarly, Mitra is the waning, and Varuna the waxing moon[29]. In ancient India the sun was regarded as the light of the gods, the moon of the fathers[30]. The *Dabistān* mentions moon-worshippers and star-worshippers as actual sects of the Hindus in the 17th century. With the Hindus the moon is a male deity. He had fifty wives, all daughters of Dakṣa, who cursed him with consumption at the appeal of his forty-nine daughters, who complained of his special favours to their fiftieth sister[31]. The sun, the moon and the stars are worshipped by the Dravidians, while the Koles worship the moon as the wife of the sun, and the stars as her childern[32]. The devout Hindus still regard the sphere of the moon as the abode of the spirits of ancestors[33] (*pitṛs*). The seven stars of the great Bear consist of the ghosts of the "seven ṛṣis," or semi-divine patriarchs, while the wives of these ṛshis constitute the Pleiades, who, among the sister Aryans of Greece, were

---

[27] *Megha-dūta*, stanzas 43, 44, 50, 55 (in the version and trans. of G. H. Rooke, Oxford Un. Press, 1935). Bāṇa Bhatta mentions(in the *Kādambarī*) the locks of Umā decked with Śiva's moon.

[28] E. W. Hopkins, *The Religions of India* (Ginn, London), p. 470.

[29],[30] *Ibid.*, p. 185.

[31] C. M. Ridding, trans. of *Kādambarī*, p. 141.

[32] Hopkins, pp. 526, 533.

[33] M. M. Williams, *Brahminism and Hinduism* (Murray, London, 1887), p. 343.

the ghosts of the seven daughters of Atlas and Pleione[34]. In the Purāṇas the planets are all represented as deities borne in cars. Rāhu has a spite against the Sun and the Moon, and therefore causes their eclipses by swallowing them. The whole lot of planets are a formidable group of deities to a Hindu, and must, therefore be propitiated by all possible means, for they rule not only the birth hour but also the whole life-time of a human being. Tārā (= a star), the wife of Bṛhaspatī (also Thursday), was carried away by the Moon, who had fallen in love with her. So also was Arundhatī, the Morning Star, the wife of the sage Vaśishṭha.

4. In Greece and Rome—Diana, the daughter of Jupiter and Latona, and twin sister of Apollo (the sun-god) was a goddess of the moon and of chase. She is identical with Luna, Cynthia, Phoebe, Selene and Artemis, all of whom are represented with crescents on their foreheads†. In art she is represented as a beautiful maid clad in a hunting dress, armed with a bow, a quiver full of arrows at her side, and a crescent on her head[35]. She drives in her moon-car across the heavens. Pleiades were seven of her nymphs, who were pursued and changed into stars by Orion, who in his turn was also loved by Diana and was accidently slain by her[36]. Rhea[37] is also shown with a crescent and a star[38].

5. In the Norse and Greenland myths—like the Indian —the moon is masculine as against the sun which is feminine. The Norse Mani, the moon-god, was an exact counterpart

---

[34] Mackenzie, pp. 295-6.

† A. S. Murray, *Manual of Mythology*, p. 119.

[35] H. A. Guerber, *Myths of Greece and Rome* (Harrap, London, 1927), p. 73.

[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 77-79.

[37] Rhea was the daughter of Coelus and Terra, and had married Saturn, by whom she had Vesta, Ceres, Juno, Pluto, Neptune, etc.,

[38] Murray, *Mythology*, p. 35.

of Phoebe, Diana or Cynthia[39]. In Greenland the moon was a father and a hater of women, while the sun was a mother and a hater of men[40].

6. In China---the moon is a special object of worship in autumn. At the harvest moon, the full moon of the eighth month, the Chinese bow before the moon, and every family burns incense as an offering[41]. The spirit of the sun is called the *sun-king*, and that of the Moon the *moon-queen*. The stars have a great influence on sublunary events, especially the life and death of the human beings. The moon is symbolised by a hare on its hind legs, or by a three-legged toad[42]. The star deities are adored by the parents on behalf of their children. They control courtship and marriage, bring prosperity or adversity in business, send pestilence and war, regulate rainfall and drought, and command angels, in fact everything, during the period of their rule[43]. Like the Indian rulers who descended from the sun and the moon, successive dynasties in China had sovereigns ruled by the sun and the moon in succession.

7. In Japan—Tsuki-Yumi is the moon-god. His consort Amaterasu, the sun-god, found her to be a wicked deity and severd his relations with her. The two were thus separated by a day and night, and dwell apart from each other[44].

8. In Central America—the moon was the mythic mother of the Inca dynasty. Temples were dedicated to the planets, particularly the Moon and the Venus. In the temple of the Moon the mythic mother depicted the features

---

39 Guerber, *Myths of the Norseman* (Harrap, London, 1925), p. 345.

40 Waterman, *Superstition*, pp. 217-18.

41 E. T. C. Werner, *Myths and Legends of China*, p. 176.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 176. In Sanskrit too the Moon is called *Shashi* which means a *hare*.

43 *Ibid.*, p. 188.

44 F. H. Davis, *Myths and Legends of Japan* (Harrap, London, 1920), p. 23.

of the moon-goddess[45]. The Mexican Oullo Huaca, the first Coya (empress) of the Incas, a child of the Moon, is depicted (like the Indian Śiva) with a bright crescent-moon on her forehead and crescent-and-star ear pendants[46].

9. From the sixth century onward the sun and the moon form a necessary appendix of the Christian representations of the Crucifixion of Christ. The moon appears as a crescent or a female figure. "In the crucifixion of the Laurentian MS. the moon is a crescent within a round disk, and in Table V of that MS. of a partial and total eclipse of the sun, which seems to represent the Moon as a white disk and face, and also as a black disk marked with the crescent . . . The Mithraic worship prevalent in Rome in the earlier centuries must have included the moon as well as the sun. The great apocalyptic mosaics would allow the presence of the Sun and the Moon in the Lord's hand . . . Count Vivian speaks of the Moon as representing the Church[47]" (in his Bible, dating middle of the ninth century). "One of the latest and most beautiful repetitions and echoes of this idea is the well-known passage in the "Christian Year" beginning with "The moon above, the church below." The presence of the sun and the moon in crucifixion . . gave occasion in later days to the idea of the moon's representing the synagogue, or the Hebrew church[48]." The stars are regarded as symbolic of Christ's divinity, and one or more of them are often seen on either side of his figure on early glasses, etc. A Christian lamp given by Bellori presents the Good Shepherd with his head encircled by seven stars[49].

---

45 L. Spence, *Myths of Mexico and Peru* (Harrap, 1920),pp. 261-62.

46 M. Schubert, *Minute Myths and Legends* (Grosset and Dunlop), p. 149.

47, 48 *A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* (Murray, London, 1908) II, pp. 1316-17.

49 *Ibid.* p. 1927, referring to the *Antiche Lucerne*, part iii, 29. The author suggests that in the early Christian art the starry field is symbolical of heaven.

At St. Vitallis at Ravenna the Holy Lamb is seen in a field sown with stars, and the Cross is similarly placed in the Chapel of Galla Placidia. In representation of Christ's nativity the star is an unfailing accompaniment, and the child Christ is seen in his swaddling bands as the central figure, the stars appearing above[50]. "It is noteworthy," says Waterman," that even in the Bible the terms "New moon" and "Sabbath hour" are regularly used together as if they were somehow connected[51]."

In fact the crescent and the star have been used as signs and symbols by almost all human races and peoples, and are of an indescribable antiquity. Waterman explains the star-and-crescent symbol as a device showing the union of the sun and the moon, the two being " locked together in loving embrace in order that as a result of their caress nature will be fruitful[52]. The ancient Egyptian heiroglyphs show so many combinations of the crescent, connected with the persons of their gods and kings. Explaining the sanctity attaching to number 3 the same author says," It is likely that the mystic 3 is connected with Mother Moon, because she was always supposed to have a most uncanny influence upon the destinies of everything and everybody. To this day there are thousands of superstitious people who feel that their fate is somehow linked up with the full moon, the waxing moon, and the waning moon . . . Among the ancient supernatural groups of *three*, one of the most prominent was that of the moon, the snake and the hare[53]." Who does not know that throughout the Christain Europe and America a day of the week has been consecrated to the moon, and is named Monday? The six-pointed star is

---

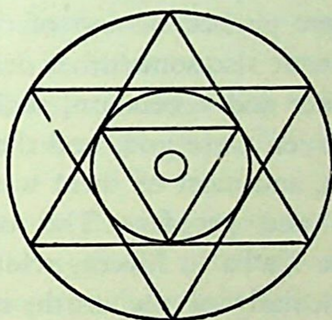
50 *Ibid.*, pp. 1380, 1927.

51 *The Story of Superstition*, p. 214.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 73.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 217.

explained by various authorities as being a combination of two triangles placed one above the other, one of them pointing upwards and representing the male element, and the other pointing downwards and representing the female element. The male triangl~ stands for the god, and the female for the goddess. In Inu.., this star is a symbol of Śiva and Śakti, and is regarded by the Hindus as very auspicious and holy. Sri-Yantra is another sign held sacred by the Hindus, and is very frequently seen painted on their temples and houses, and drawn on the ground in front of their homes. It consists of a six-pointed star placed inside a circle, and inset with another combination of a circle, a triangle and another circle, thus :



The six-pointed star was also one of the emblems revered by the American Indians before the invasion by white men. An exact copy of what is called the "Shield of David" is to be found in the Temple of the Sun at Uxmal in Yucatan[54]

Before taking leave of the ancient pagan world we will do well to study the tendency of the pre-Islamic Arabs towards religion in general and the heavenly luminaries in particular. Generally speaking the pre-Islamic Arabs' view on life was hedonistic. Remarkable in many ways, they

[54] Waterman, *Superstition*, p. 161.

have been outstanding and noteworthy in the fact that they had no mythology. They were pluralistic in their conception of godhead. They worshipped one supreme god, Hubal, and several sub-gods, such as Lāt, Manāt and 'Uzzā, and had exalted some of the heroes of old to the position of divinity. Along with these they also had idols of the smaller gods, such as Wadd, Suwā', Yaghūth, Ya'ūq and Nasr. The Lāt was the moon-god, and was especially worshipped by the Banū Thaqīf and had his idol at Ṭā'if. The Manāt was a favourite of the Aws, the Khazraj and the Ghassāns; and 'Uzzā was worshipped by the Quraysh, the Kināna and some of the Sulaym. The idols of Isāf, and Nā'ilah—who have been described differently as having been brought by 'Amr b. Luḥayy from Syria, and to have originally been two persons (man and woman) of the tribe of Jurhum—were pitched on top of the Mounts Ṣafā and Marwa. There were also some other deities who enjoyed only a local importance and veneration, such as the Sa'd of the Banu Milkān. Even these gods and their idols were not aboriginies in Arabia, and most of them were only borrowed from foreign lands and peoples. The central pantheon of Arabia was at the Ka'ba in Mecca, whither most of the Arabian tribes, particularly of the north, travelled yearly to perform their pilgrimage. Likewise the abstract ideas of Time, Love and Bravery were also apotheosised. Like the moon the stars also attracted their veneration. They did not occupy the exact position of gods or deities, but were believed to have a lasting influence on the birth and death of human beings, and in particular on the rains, a commodity that was naturally so dear to those denizens of the parched deserts and dry, sunburnt hills. We are also told on good authority[55] that some of the pagan Arabs even believed in a supreme god, even higher than Hubal, and called him

---

55 E. G. Ibn Hisham, al-Shahristānī, Ibn-al-Kalbi.

Allāh[56], as also in the angels and the genii whom they regarded as daughters of that Allāh. Some of them even believed in a life-after-death and an accounting for their deeds on a certain day. Some of them were also inclined to be Jews and Christians, whose colonies were sprinkled up and down Arabia. Professor Davis is very probably correct in regarding it unlikely that "the Arabian Jews adhered to the ordinary Mosaic doctrines as interpreted by the more authoritative rabbis. As for the Christians," he goes on to observe, "they frequently belonged to sects which had delivered themselves over to outlandish mysticism or sheer superstition. Some questioned the deity of Christ; others practically denied his human aspect and considered crucifixion a kind of stage play designed to impose upon the evil-minded Jews[57]." Thus, in short, the religious beliefs of the pagan Arabs suffered from a vagueness and a volatility all their own. It was a set of beliefs characterised at once by a childlike simplicity and a robust and courageous manhood, the like of which is hard to find in any race or clime.

It is abundantly clear by now that the moon and the star were actually revered and worshipped, or at least venerated by all the nations of the world before Islam. Even now in the twentieth century there are countries and nations—both barbarous and civilised—who assign to these luminous creatures the dignity and position of gods and adore them as so many deities. We are now in a position to study

[56] This, however, is a matter of controversy, and is not recognised by all.

[57] W. S. Davis, *A Short History of the Near East* (MacMillan N. Y., 1923), p. 105. One is very much tempted to believe it was designed not only for the Jews but for the whole world. What mischief has been wrought by early Christian monks, and how cleverly and wisely they have palmed off historical facts and figures on the world is an exceedingly interesting story indeed. In this connection a study of the highly learned and illuminative work, *The Rise of Christendom* by E. Johnson (Trubner, London, 1890) will more than repay labour.

the attitude of Islam towards the heavenly bodies in general, and the moon and the stars in particular, and then to arrive at a conclusion whether or not the crescent and the star can be said to be emblematic of Islam and the Muslims.

One need hardly mention the well-known formula of belief in Islam, "There is, no god but Allah[58] and Muhammad is His apostle," which negates in one stroke the fitness of anything, fact or idea to be a god or worthy of any worship. The *Qur'ān* asserts repeatedly and in clear terms that: "Allah is ONE[59]. There is no god but He[60]. To Him belongs all and absolute command[61], and His is whatever is in earth or heaven[62]. All might and glory belongs to Allah[63], and all affairs are ultimately referrable and return, to Him alone[64]. No other god shall be associated with Him[65], as there is no proof for such a belief. Allah does not forgive that anything be associated with Him[66]." Such is Allah, *the God par excellence*, whom Islam and the Qur'ān present to the world. This, clearly enough, rules out of all consideration any attempt at deifying any object, idea or whim that may occur to man. None but Allah has absolutely any room in human conception and thought.

---

58 Also the *Quran*, 47, 19; 37, 34.

59 The *Qurān*: 112, 1. Also 2, 163, 255; 4, 171; 5, 73; 14, 52; 16, 51; 18, 110; 21, 108; 22, 34; 41,6.

60 *Ibid.*, 4, 87; 11, 14; 20, 8, 98; 27, 26; 44, 8; 59, 22, 23; 64, 13; 73, 9. Also 2, 163, 255; 3, 15, 17, 61; 6, 103; 7, 158; 9, 31, 129; 13, 30; 16,2; 20, 14; 21, 25, 87; 23, 116; 28, 70, 88; 35, 3; 38, 65; 39, 6; 40, 62.

61 *Ibid.*, 3, 153; 6, 57, 62; 7, 54; 12, 40, 67; 13, 31; 28, 70, 88; 30, 4.

62 *Ibid.*, 2, 284; 3, 108, 128; 4, 131, 170; 10, 55, 66; 31, 26; Also 5, 120.

63 *Ibid.*, 4, 139; 10, 65; 35, 10.

64 *Ibid.*, 11, 123; 35, 4.

65 *Ibid.*, 17, 22, 39; 23, 117; 28, 88; 51, 51.

66 *Ibid.*, 4, 116.

It is well-known that all races and nations of the old dreaded their gods as spiteful beings, always inimically disposed towards their worshippers, and ever ready to inflict their wrath, and wreak their vengeance, upon their frail devotees. And again, they required gods out of number†, who could perform all possible functions, each one his own in heaven and on earth. This multiplicity naturally led to jealousies, rivalries and feuds among them. Mythology is full of the accounts of the wars of the divinities. They were, therefore, no better than the meanest of the human beings, and had all the faults and weaknesses of their fond worshippers. Naturally enough, they were doubly terrible, as petty minded folks constantly quarrelling among themselves, and as spiteful enemies of their creatures and devotees, whose happiness and prosperity was by no means their concern. They had to be kept at bay, their greed to be satisfied, their wrath averted and prohibited by all sorts of supplications and offerings. Islam ended all these fears in one stroke by presenting to the world the ONE Allah, the creator of every thing[67]. He alone has created the human beings and their pairs[68], all animals[69], the earth and the heavens[70]. He has made the day and night[71]. He has given everything into the control of man. The ocean[72], the rivers[73], the animals[74], the sun, and the moon[75], the day and night[76], the

† *India* had hundreds of millions of them!

67 *The Qur'ān*: 24, 61; 39,62.

68 *Ibid.*, 30, 40; 35, 11; 37, 96.

69 *Ibid.*, 24, 45.

70 *Ibid.*, 14, 32; 23, 4; 40, 64; 64, 12; Also 13, 2.

71 *Ibid.*, 14, 32; 21, 33; 28, 71-73; 40,61.

72 *Ibid.*, 16, 14; 45, 12.

73 *Ibid.*, 14, 32.

74 *Ibid.*, 22, 36.

75 *Ibid.*, 13, 2; 14, 33; 16, 12; 17, 12; 29, 61; 31, 29; 35 13; 39,5.

76 *Ibid.*, 14, 33; 16, 12.

boats[77], the mountains[78], the winds[79]—in fact everything contained within the bounds of the heavens and the earth[80]—. are within the control of and subservient to man ! And the stars too are controlled by His command[81]. Every thing that is in heaven and earth bows before Him and obeys Him[82]. All forces contained in heaven and earth belong to Him, and none but He knows the extent of His mighty hosts.[83] It has been announced in unequivocal terms that "Allah alone is your Lord, and the Lord of your ancestors of old[84]. He only has created you, and He only reduces you to death[85]. Why do you call upon such gods as the Baʿl, and forṣake Him who is the best of the creators[86] and the best of sustainers[87], and the best keeper and guard[88]? He is not unjust in the least[89]. Therefore, bow not to, and be bot afraid of, any one but Him[90]; for He is merciful, and mightily gracious[91]. He has the complete mastery and command over everything in the universe[92]. All things that are in the heavens and the earth, and the sun, and the moon and the stars, and the mountains, and the trees, and animals and men—all obey Him[93].

---

77 *Ibid.*, 14,32.
78 *Ibid.*, 21, 79; 38, 18.
79 *Ibid.*, 38, 36.
80 *Ibid.*, 22, 65; 31, 30; 45, 13.
81 *Ibid.*, 16, 12.
82 *Ibid.*, 13, 15; 16, 49.
83 *Qur.*, 48, 7; 74, 31.
84 *Ibid.*, 37, 126.
85 *Ibid.*, 16, 70.
86 *Ibid.*, 37, 125.
87 *Ibid.*, 5, 114; 22, 58; 23, 72; 34, 39; 62, 11.
88 *Ibid.*, 12, 64.
89 *Ibid.*, 4, 40; 10, 44; etc.
90 *Ibid.*, 2,150; 3, 174; 5, 3, 40; 9, 13; 33, 37.
91 *Ibid.*, 2, 104; 3, 73, 173; 8, 29; 57, 21; 62, 4.
92 *Ibid.*, in numerous places.
93 *Ibid.*, 22, 18.

It is patent from the above that Islam leaves no room at all for any objective godhead or deity, worth even the least veneration or regard, for there is only ONE Allah, who is the creator, sustainer, controller and destroyer of every thing in the universe, and He alone is the only one whom we should love, revere, adore and fear. Man himself has control over the creation and can press any thing into his service. A Muslim is taught to say in his prayers (five times daily!) "Thee alone we worship, and Thee alone we seek help from[94]." Naturally, therefore, the moon, the crescent and the star, cannot command any veneration, reverence or sanctity with the Muslims. Let us now follow the traces of the mention of the moon, the crescent and the star in the Qur'ān.

Generally speaking we have already seen how these luminaries have been mentioned as being under control of God and man. The moon has been mentioned in as many as twenty three places in the book. The earliest mention[95] of it points out how Abraham struggled with his own self and would not brook to submit to the traditional idolatrous practice of his family to worship the luminaries. He reasons out for himself the futility of deifying the sun, the moon and the stars, and discards them for gods as against Allāh whom alone he resolves henceforth to adore —thus winning for himself the Qur'ānic title of the "first one to submit to Allāh[96]." We are told that the moon is only a source of light[97] at night. The sun and the moon—like the day and the night—are only His signs[98], whereby human beings can take lessons. The sun, the moon and the stars, and all that is in heaven and earth, obey Allah[99]. The luminaries

---

94 *Qur.*, 1, 4.
95 *Ibid.*, 6,78.
96 *Ibid.*, 6, 164.
97 *Ibid.*, 10, 5; 71, 16.
98 *Ibid.*, 41, 37; 74, 32; 91, 1.
99 *Ibid.*, 22, 18.

are under control of Allah and man[100]. Ths sun and the moon follow a definite course of (apparent and real) motion and are bound down to follow it[101]. " Do not make obeisance to the sun, nor to the moon; and make obeisance to Allah who created them[102]." At two places[103] the moon is mentioned in connection with the time or period of crisis or political upheaval—usually signified by the Qur'ānic word *qiyāmat*—which a nation or country has to face. In Sura XII (verse 4) the moon is mentioned as having been seen by Joseph in his dream. True there is a whole *sura* (No. LIV) entitled the Moon, because it opens with a reference to the "splitting of the moon," which, as Hughes rightly remarks, is a matter of controversy[104]. He believes it refers to the signs of the resurrection. It would, however, be more reasonable to take it as indicative of the splitting up of the heathen power of Mecca, and, in the subsequent future, of the mighty empire of the Romans. The moon was the sign and motto of the Arabs[105], while the crescent-moon formed an important symbol of the Romans and was depicted on their banners. "When the (Roman) army was on the march, the *signa* were borne in front . . . . The pole of the *signum* was a lance pointed at the lower end . . . .It had a transverse bar near the top from which the ribands hung down. Below this bar there were several disks varying in number from two to seven. These were usually of silver; below them was

---

100 *Ibid.*, 7, 54; 41, 33; 13, 2; 17,12; 29, 61; 31, 29; 35, 13; 39, 5.

101 *Ibid.*, 36, 39, 40; 55, 6.

102 *Ibid.*, 41, 37.

103 In 75, 8 and 9. Hughes (*Dicty. of Islam*, art. Moon, p. 356), who understands this verse as referring to the eclipse of the moon "at the day of judgment," only follows the popular interpretation of the word *qiyāmat*.

104 *A Dictionary of Islam*, art. Moon, p. 356.

105 It is significant that this *sura* was revealed at Mecca, whose special motto the moon was.

the *crescent-moon*, above them either a small shield or a corona aurea, or a symbol of some other kind[106]."

The crescent is not mentioned in the Qur'ān in the singular number (*hilāl*), and the plural form (*ahilla*) too is used but once: "They ask you concerning the new moons (crescents). Say they are times appointed for (calculating by) men, and for the pilgrimage[107]." Thus the only importance of the crescent for a Muslim is that it marks a time or period, and is used for that purpose alone. It marks for them the commencement of a month, or the approach of a season[108]. Traditionists have put on record an incident in the life of the Prophet, known all too well to every Muslim. The death of a son of his happened to coincide with the eclipse of the moon. The people of the town, even some Muslims, attributed the mishap to the moon. But the condolatory expressions of the sympathisers only met with a warning from the Prophet who told all and sundry that the moon was only a creature of Allah and had no such influence on the life or death of a human being as they believed.

Having split up the moon and all its hoary glory, let us now turn to the stars and examine the status assgined to them by the Qur'ān. The book uses two words for the star: *najm*, and its plural *nujūm*; and *kawkab*, and its plural *kawākib*. "By the stars they find the right way[109]," for that was how the Arabs found out the direction on their journeys, before their Muslim compatriots invented the compass. *Najm* is the opening word of Sura No. 53; but some thinkers believe that there it is used to indicate the Qur'ānic verses.

---

[106] *Encycl. Relig. and Eth.* II, 549 a.

[107] *Sura* II, 189.

[108] One crescent, e.g., marks the beginning, and the next the close, of the month of fasting (*Ramadān*); and another one (of the month of *Dhul-hijja*) indicates the approach within the next fortnight of the three-day season of the annual pilgrimage to Mecca.

[109] *Qur*. 16, 16.

In *Al-Rahmān* (55,7) this word means "a creeper-herb," and is bracketed with the plant (*shajar*) in the same remark. Lastly in *al-Ṭāriq* (86,3) the star is held up as an evidence of the fact that every member of the universe has a definite course of life which is well guarded and regulated. In its plural form (*nujūm*) we come across it for the first time in Sura *An'am* (6,98), where also we meet them as pointers of the direction and no more. In three other places[110] after that, the luminaries are said to be in full control of God and man. In the *Ṣāffāt* (No. 37) we are told how very *sick* Abraham felt of his society revering and worshipping the stars and regarding them as controllers of their lives and destinies. In two places[111], about the last part of the Book, the stars are mentioned in connection with the same times (as mentioned above) of national crisis and revolutions when everything seems to be hugely disturbed and angles of vision suffer an inordinately enormous change. In the *Wāqi'a* (56,76) the word signifies the Qur'ānic verses, which are held up as evidences of the Qur'ān being a noble and serious proclamation. Lastly, we come across a mention of the stars in connection with an instruction to the Prophet: "And in the night give Him glory, and at the *setting* of the *stars*[112]." In the form *Kawkab* (singular) the stars appear for the first time in the story of Abraham's refusal to accept the stars as deities[113]; and then in the *sura* entitles *Yūsuf* in the mention (supra) of Joseph's dream[114]. Lastly the stars are mentioned as a mere simile for a brilliant light.[115] In the plural form (*kawākib*) the luminaries appear in only two

---

110 *Suras* 7, 54; 16, 12; 22, 18.

111 *Suras* 77, 8; 81, 2. Also in the plural form *Kawākib* in 82, 1.

112 *Sura* 52, 49.

113 *Sura* 6, 77.

114 *Sura* 12, 4.

115 *Sura* 24, 35.

places : first, in the *Ṣāffāt*[116], where they are presented to our view as only a sort of decoration for the sky overhead; and then in Sura LXXXII, noted above.

This is how the *Qur'ān* is concerned with the luminaries overhead. None of these have any demand on the consideration of the Muslims. Any belief to the contrary is absolutely wrong and has no sanction whatsoever, and the non-Muslims will be best advised to give up all such notions of ascribing the crescent and the star to the Muslim faith or religion!

The question naturally arises as to who is responsible for this strange ascription of the crescent and star as an *emblem* or *symbol* of Islam, so that even a sane writer like Waterman could be led into the palpable absurdity of believing that "The Swastika is to Buddhism what the cross is to Christianity, and *the crescent is to Islam*[117]." According to the best explanation, *swāstika* is only a sign for well-being, *su* meaning 'well' and *asti*='being.' In the *swāstika* "some of the early Christian mystics saw in the two lines at right angles a symbol of Christ as the corner stone[118]!" This primitive Aryan sign is still so much in vogue in India, and is still considered sacred and highly auspicious. The cross, a sign that means everything to the Christians, was already in use among the pagans of western Asia and Europe many centuries before Christ. But its main idea was taken from the ancient Egyptian sign of *Ānkh*, which to the Egyptians meant" life, living, everlasting life, the life which cannot die," much the same what the Christians have been believing about it ever since the good king Tiberius Caesar—an overlord of Egypt, may it be noted- discovered the idea and symbol for them[119]. The Egyptian goddess Isis and the god

[116] *Sura* 37, 6.

[117] *Superstition*, p. 162.

[118] E. A. W. Budge, *Amulets and Superstitions* (Oxford University Press, 1930), p. 331.

[119] *Ibid.*, pp. 134, 135, 342.

Thoth[120] were already patronised by the Christian conception as The Mother and the son-god Christ. Thus the *swāstika*, the, *ākh* and the *cross* all roll themselves into one! Signs, symbols and emblems of life to so many human beings on the earth! The crescent has none of this sort of a concern with the Muslims and Islam.

Who is responsible for introducing it to the people, who would ultimately lay it down as an *emblem* of Islam and Muslims? Hughes points out with great propriety indeed that "it must have been adopted by the Muhammadans for the first time upon the overthrow of the Byzantine empire by Muhammad II, and it is now used by the Turks as the insignia of their creed[121]." It was "the symbol of sovereignty in the city of Byzantium previous to the Muslim conquest, as may be seen from the medals struck in honour of Augustus, Trajan and others[122]." We are also told that "the Turkish use of the Crescent after 1463 was the adoption of the ancient symbol of the city of Byzantium . . . It is found on Byzantine coins, and dates from a repulse given to Philip of Macedon about B.C. 340, when a mysterious light, attributed to Hecate warned the city of a night attack[123]." It is thus only a symbol of the Turkish empire and sovereignty. At this juncture I would commend to the consideration of the readers the learned article of Mr. W. Ridgeway in the Journal[124] of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. The steady advance of the Turkish conquests and occupation over different parts of the continents of Asia, Europe and Africa, and their suzerainty over so many countries in the world naturally gained for them an esteem in the

---

120 *Ibid.*, pp. 206, 207.

121 *A Dicty. of Islam*, art. *Crescent*, p. 63.

122 *Ibid.*

123 *A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*. Vol. II, p. 137.

124 Vol. 38, 1908, Art. *The Origin of the Turkish Crescent*, p. 241 et seq.

Muslim world that was hard to be-surpassed by that of any other Muslim state. In India it was particularly helped by the decline of the Mughal empire. And the Muslim world readily adopted the *Turkish* star and crescent as something that would reconcile their mentality, however faintly it may be, with the notion that they yet had something to satisfy their idea of unity. All eyes beheld this as a vestige of the greatness of Islam and its power. And it gave to the Muslim poets a ready simile to speak of the crescent-shaped sword as their "national symbol." It was no more than this, and never deserves to be anything more than this. The Muslims require no material or objective Lord or Master. They have been ordered to "hold fast by Allah; He is your Patron. He is the best and the most excellent Patron and Helper." And Him alone the Muslims worship, and from Him alone they seek help.

AN ANALYSIS OF VERBAL FORMS OF MAITHILI

By SUBHADRA JHA

(*Continued from page* 58.)

8. *The Personal Terminations*

From an analysis of words like अएलहुँ, I came ; अएलहुँ you (honorific) came ; अएलह, you (non-honorific ordinary) came ; अएलएँ you (non-honorific extreme) came; अएलाह, he (honorific) came; and आएल he (non-honorific) came, we find that the base is आएल in all the forms while they differ in the personal terminations. It is on this account that the agent of the verb is understood from the verb itself and therefore, in conversation, we seldom use pronouns for the nominative of the sentence. It is just like Sanskrit. So when the verb is used with reference to the person of the nominative only the following affixes are used in the different tenses after the different kinds of bases to form the complete verb forms.

First Person and Second Person (Honorific) हुँ

Second Person (Ordinary non-honorific)...ह

Second Person (Extremely non-honorific)...एँ

Third Person (Honorific)...आह after intransitive verbs and a few transitive verbs, such as बाज, to say; पैस, to enter, etc., अन्हि after other transitive verbs.

Third person (non-honorific)——अक used after transitive verbs only except those mentioned under (d).

These personal terminations undergo very slight modifications in different tenses and moods.

Things would have been very simple, if the genius of the language had contended with this only. But the language goes a long step forward. It will become clear from an examination of the following sentences where even with

the nominative of the same person, there is some change in the personal terminations. Thus, with the nominative of the first person and the accusative of the other different persons we get forms like देखलहुँ, I saw you (honorific); देखलिअहु, I saw you (non-honorific ordinary). देखलिऔ, I saw you (non-honorific extreme); देखलिऐन्हि, I saw him (honorific); देखलिऐ I saw him (non-honorific). When the nominative is of the second person (non-honorific) and the accusative is of the first person, the form used is the same as used with the nominative of the first person and the accusative of the second person (honorific); and with the accusative of the third person the forms are the same as in case the nominative is of the first person.

When the nominative is of the second person (non-honorific ordinary) and the accusative is of any other person the form like the following shall be used : देखलह, you saw me; देखलहुन्ह, you saw him (honorific); देखलहक, you saw him (non-honorific); similarly, with the nominative of the second person (non-honorific, extreme) and the accusative of the different persons forms like the following are used. देखलएँ, you saw me; देखलहुन्ह you saw him (honorific); देखलहीक, you saw him. With the nominative of the third person (honorific) and the accusative of any of the different persons the following like forms are used. देखलन्हि, he saw me or you (honorific); देखलथुन्ह, he saw you (non-honorific, ordinary and extreme); देखलथिन्ह, he saw him (honorific) and non-honorific). Similarly, when the nominative is of the third person non-honorific and the accusative is of any of the different persons the forms like the following are used. देखलक, he saw me or you (honorific); देखलकहु, he saw you (non-honorific, ordinary), देखलकौ, he saw you (non-honorific) extreme); देखलकैन्हि, he saw him (honorific) and देखलकैक, he saw him (non-honorific).

Here in the above description, the accusative stands for any case closely connected with the verb, besides

the nominative. Therefore, this sort of complication arises not only in connection with transitive verbs but with the intransitive verbs as well. Thus देखलिह(?), not only means 'I saw you, but also may mean I saw something or somebody connected with you.' छिलहु I am somehow connected with you; छलथुन्ह = he (honorific) was somehow connected with you or with your work; and so on.

From an analysis of such forms we come to the following generalisation: When the nominative is of one person and there is any person connected with the verb of the sentence, the nominative has its person defined in the verb by the following terminations:

First Person and Second Person (honorific)——इ;

Second Person (non-honorific, ordinary)—— अह;

Second Person (non-honorific, extreme)——अह,-अही,-अ;

Third Person (honorific)--थ, थि;

Third Person (non-honorific)—क with the transitive verbs including those mentioned under (d) above.

The person of the case closely connected with the verb other than the nominative is indicated in the sentence by the following terminations in the verb:

First Person and Second Person (honorific)—no termination.

Second Person (non-honorific, ordinary)--अहु;

Second Person (non-honorific, extreme)—औ,-औक;

Third Person (honorific)—उन्ह,-ऐन्ह,-इन्ह;

Third Person (non-honorific)—ऐ,-इन्ह,-ऐक;

In a sentence where the persons of the nominative and of any other case connected with the verb has to be expressed, the personal termination for the nominative is placed immediately after the radical or the participle form and then follows the termination for the person of any other case. Thus छलिऐन्हि = छल-इ-ऐन्हि = was—I—to him; छलिअहु = छल-इ-अहु = was—I—to you; होएबहुन्ह = होएब-अहु-न्ह = will be-you-to him खाएलिऐन्हि = खाएल-इ-ऐन्हि = eaten was—(by him, non-honorific)—

(something connected with)—him, कहत्वहुन्ह = कहत्व-अहु-न्ह = will be said-you-him something will be spoken by you to him; etc.

An apparent exception in case when the nominative is of the Third Person and the Second Person is used in any other connected case. Here it appears that the order of the personal terminations is reversed. Thus, कहलथुन्ह seems to be = कहल-थु-न्ह = will say-to you-he. But here the proper analysis will be कहल-अहु-न्ह will say—be-you-he. That is say here is a case superimposed use of the personal termination of the third person (hono.). Therefore here त is of the third person, अहु of the second person and न्ह of the third person.

The persons of the cases having been thus fully defined by the abbreviated pronouns used in the verb, it is not necessary for a Maithili speaker to use a pronoun in a sentence. Thus छलिअहु, will mean I was (at your village); similarly, पोथी देलिऐन्हि, will mean I gave him a book; and so on.

Once this process is mastered, the language becomes as simple as Persian.

9. *Sundry Verbal Formations.*

Before proceeding to give an account of compound verbs, it is necessary to give an account of the conjunctive and such other forms to which the auxiliary verb is attached.

The Conjunctive.

The consonantal roots add इ to form the conjunctive. The roots which take the विकरण 'ब' take इ after the विकरण. The vocalic roots which do not take the विकरण use ए to form the conjunctive. √कर and √धर form their conjunctive as कए, धए. Thus, सूति, having slept; आबि. having come; दए, having given; etc.

Past Absolutive.

It is formed by changing ल of the past participle to न and making it end in ए: पानि भेने उपजा खूब होइछ on raining crops grow well ; काज कएने आएब, please come after finishing my (or your own) work ; etc.

Though not used in conjugation of verbs, it may here be noted that by adding आ to the oblique base of the past participial forms, in Maithili the past absolutive is formed.

Thus, सूर्य उगला पर आएब, I shall (or you may) come after the sunrise.

Present Participial Absolutive.

ए is added to the present participle to form the absolutive from it. Sometimes, nothing is added ; and the sense of the absolutive is determined from the context. Thus, अन्न अछैते उपास, fasting even when one has grains; वर्षा होइतें हमर मोन ठण्ढा भएगेल, my mind became cool as soon as it rained ; etc.

Verbal Noun and the Infinitive

The following are the instances of verbal noun : कहबा क अनुसार काज करू, do according to saying ; ई कहला सँ लाभ नहिं होएत, by saying this you will have no gain ; etc. The formative affix for the infinitive is ए: कहए लागल began to say; मारए लगलथीन्ह, he begins to beat him ; etc.

10. *Auxiliary Verbs.*

The following auxiliary verbs are used to form the Compound Verb : √रह, to remain ; √द, to give ; √ल, to take ; √ताक, to look at ; √चा, ought ; √जाह. ग. to go; √आ, to come; √कर, to do ; √लाग, to get attached ; √पड़, to fall ; √बूझ, to know ; √ऊठ, to rise up ; √बैस, to sit ; √पा, to obtain; √चुक, to fall; √शक. can.

The following are the uses of the different auxiliary verbs : √रह, to remain :

It is used to denote the idea of remaining after doing a work and occurs after the conjunctive form of a verb. Thus एतए सूति रहैत छी, I remain sleeping here : एतए सूति रही, may I sleep here : किछु काल ओतए सूति रहलहुँ, I slept there for some time; etc.

It differs from the same verb used to form periphrastic tenses inasmuch as in the compound verb as stated here it is found in all the tenses and moods, while as already seen above, it occurs in specified tenses. When it forms a periphrastic tense it expresses the idea of continuity, but here it merely denotes completion of an action. There it expresses habit, but here there is no such sense.

√द, to give and √ल, to take :

The forms of these two verbs are found to be used with the absolutive of the principal verb. The forms of √द, to give is used also with the infinitive in ए, in which case the idea of 'let' of English is expressed. The usual sense in which the forms of the verbs are used that of परस्मैपद and आत्मनेपद of Sanskrit grammar; i.e. we use √द when the fruit of the action goes to a person other than the doer: and when it accrues to the doer himself and the other connected persons have no interest in the matter we use √ल. Thus, बाजए दिअ, let me speak ; कहि दिअ, may I speak (in your interests) ; बाजि लिअ, please say (in your own interest) ; etc.

√ताक, to look at. The forms of this verb when used as auxiliary verb carry the sense of impossibility or undesirability of an action indicated by the principal verb which remains in its past participial form followed by ओ. The idea of undesirability or impossibility is used with reference to the doer.

टाका भेलो तकैन्हि, first let him have money (but this is not desirable for me to give it to him or it is not possible for him to manage for the money).

The auxiliary verb employs its optative forms for this purpose.

√चाह, ought and √बूझ, to understand. The optative forms of these verbs are used with the form of the infinitive of the principal verb in ए to express the sense of 'ought' of English.

Thus अपन काज करए चाहिअहु or बुझिअहु you ought to do your work. With the past participial form of the principal verb it denotes the idea of impossibility as in the case, टाका देलो चाहिऐन्हि, if I agree to give money, but I am not going to do that.

√जा, √ग, to go; and √आ to come. The forms of the first two verbal roots are used to denote the sense of completion of an action with the principal verb in its absolutive form. This happens in the case of the last verb also. The forms of the last verb root are used to express the idea of completion of an action accompanied with an outward and subsequent inward motion. The case is just the reverse when the forms of the first two roots are used. Thus, खा जाउ, please come, eat and then go; खा आउ, please go, eat, and then come.

It may here be noted that √ग can be used in the past tense only, while √जा can be used in the other two tenses only.

With the present participial form of the principal verb, the forms of √जा and √ग are used in the sense of doing a work individually. ओलोकनि अवैत गेलाह, each one of them has come.

√चल, to walk. It is used with the present participial form of the conjunctive form of the principal verb to denote the sense of continued action. Thus :—करैत चलह, go on working; हँसैत चलिहथि, he should continue to laugh.

√कर, to do. The forms of this verb are used to carry the sense of continuity of action. The principal verb remains in its past participial form. देखल करह, continue to see.

√लाग, to get attached. This verb is used with the forms of the infinitive of the principal verb and expresses the idea of beginning of an action. Thus, मारए लगलथिन्ह, he began to beat.

√शक, to be able. The forms of √शक are used with the conjunctive of the principal verb to carry the sense of 'to be able.' Thus कए सकह त करह, do if you can.

√ऊठ, to rise up; √बैस, to sit. Both these verbs are used to denote the sense of suddenness. The principal verb remains in its conjuctive form. The distinction lies in the fact that in the case of the latter verb, the doer will remain quiet after the action while in the case of the former he will remain active even after the work is done. Thus, मारि बैसलाह, all of a sudden he beat (me); बाजि उठलाह, all of a sudden he spoke.

√पा, to get. The forms of the verb are used after the conjunctive form of transitive verb in the sense of 'to succeed in.' देखि पंएबैन्हि, I shall succeed in finding him out.

√चुक, to fail. As an auxiliary verb it is used in the past and future tenses only. It occurs after the conjunctive form of the principal verb and carries the sense of 'completion of an action.' खाए चुकलाह, he has finished eating.

12. *Compound Verbs From Three or Four Verbal Roots.*

They are not of very wide application. Here I give only a few examples. काज करैत रहैत छिअहु, I am doing your work; काज कए देल करैत छिअहु, I am habituated to do your work; etc.

It will be seen that the extention is effected by use of more than one auxiliary verb.

13. *Formation of the Passive.*

In modern Maithili the passive is formed periphrastically. (1) The conjugational forms of the auxiliary verbs

√जा or √ग and √हो, or √थ used after the past participial form of the principal verb form the passive. Thus दोष कएल गेलैन्हि, this fault was committed by him; खाएल नहिं भेलहु, it could not be possible for you to eat; etc.

2. The verbal noun in ना is used before the forms of the auxiliary verb roots √जा, √ग to form the passive or the impersonal voice. भात खएना गेलै, rice was eaten by him; हसना जाएत, I shall have to laugh.

(3) The absolutive in इ followed by forms of the verb √पड़, to fall, forms the passive in another way. हमरा बूझि पड़त, it will be known by me.

(4) The root is made end in आ and after it the conjugational forms of √ग or √जा are used to form the impersonal or the passive voice. Thus भात खा आ (?) गेलैक, by him rice has been eaten; हँसा गेलैक, he had to laugh; etc.

There are some more ways of forming the passive. But they are not in extensive use and therefore, they have been left out here.

14. *The Reflexive Voice or Karmakartrvācya*

There are several verbs which though actively used carry the sense of passive and they are said to be in reflexive voice. Thus, घैल भरैत अछि the jar is filling; भात सिद्धहोइत अछि rice is being cooked; etc.

15. *The Formation of the Causative*

The causative is formed in two ways: (1) By substituting the short root vowels by its corresponding vowel of the गुण grade in the case of इ and उ and by a vowel of the वृद्धि grade in the case of अ. (2) By the use of infixed आ or आव or आए. The former type of causative is obtained from intransitive verbs only. Thus from √मर, to die, the causative would be √मार, to kill; from √टूट, to break, it would be √तोड़; etc. From √हँस, to laugh, the causative

would be √हँसा and from √सूत, to sleep, the causative would be √सुताव ; etc.

The participles from the causative stems are formed in the same way as in the case of primary roots.

16. *The Duplicated Verb.*

Certain verb forms are used in pairs in Maithili. Such roots are either similar in meaning or are connected in ideas. They together convey the idea of the intensive. These do not make what are known as compound verbs, as here both the verb roots are inflected. Some examples are given below. मारैत पिटैत छिऐन्हि, he is (or I am) beating him; कटैत छटैत छथि, he is cutting and arranging; धरब पकड़ब ; catching and arresting; etc.

16. *The Negative Verb.*

There is only one negative verb in Maithili, i.e. √नकार to deny. In other case negation is denoted with the aid of the negative particle.

17. *The Compound Verb formed by Combination of Verb Roots with Nouns, Adjectives and Adverbs.*

They are current in the language as in Hindi. Thus, दर्शन करब, to see; मधुर लागब, to taste sweet; आगू बढ़ब, to advance; etc.

18. *Formation of the participles.*

The present participle is formed by addition of ऐत to roots that end in a consonant and to such vocalic roots as take the *vikaraṇa* 'ब', after the *vikaraṇa* and the other roots take simply इत to form it. Thus, from √मार, to beat, √छू, to touch, and √खा to eat, the present participle would be मारैत, छुबैत, खाइत respectively

The past participle from roots ending in a consonant is formed by adding अल to the root. Thus राखल from √राख, to keep. Of the vocalic roots, not taking the विकरण 'ब'

the roots ending in आ excluding the causative verbs and those that end in ओ take एल while the roots ending in इ, उ take इल, उल, to form the past participle; the causative verb root take ओल to form the past participle. The roots ending in इ, उ, ओ may optionally take simply ल. Thus नहाएल, from √नहा: पिउल or पील from √पी, to drink; धोएल or धोल, from √धो, to wash; etc.

The future participle is formed by changing ल of the past participle to ब. Thus, from √खा, to eat, खाएब; from √सूत, to sleep, सूतब; from √नहा, to bathe नहाएब,

GLORIES OF MARWAR AND DR. ISHWARI PRASAD

By BISHESWARNATH REU

In the August 1944 number of *this Jaurnal* Dr. Ishwari Prasad, the well known historian, in reviewing my book named *Glories of Marwar and the Glorious Rathors* writes :—"There is not much evidence of careful discrimination or weighing of facts culled from State Records in the light of Persian histories. The book abounds in inaccuracies and the account of Rao Maldeo's relations with Humayun is not quite correct and so is the account of Maharaja Ajitsingh ".

The Doctor may be justified to express his opinion, but at the same time I hope the Editor of *the Journal* will kindly allow me to lay the facts before the readers of *this Journal* for their own judgment.

Emperor Humayun ascended the throne at Agra on December 29,1530 A. D. But when on May 17, 1540 A. D. he suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Sher Khan at Kanauj, he roamed about the country for about two years in search of help, and on the 7th of May, 1542 A. D. arrived at Uchch. On the 2nd of July, he left for Marwar in the hope of securing the help of Rao Maldeo, who was at that time the mightiest of the Rajput rulers of India, and on the 31st of July when he was encamping at a place situated about 24 miles from Bikaner he was informed that though outwardly the Rao professes full sympathy towards the Emperor, yet at heart he nourishes evil designs against him.

When the royal retinue neared the boundry of Marwar, Sankai (Sanga) of Nagaur, a man of trust of Rao Maldeo, visited the Imperial camp, on the pretext of purchasing some precious diamonds, but the Emperor; suspecting his actions, conveyed to him that such diamonds could not be purchased

but they could be obtained either by the favour of the Emperor or by the force of arms.

After that as the Emperor became more suspicious, he sent Raimal Soni[1] to the Rao to take stock of the exact situation there. When the Emperor arrived at Phalodi, he despatched Atka Khan too to the Rao's court, who reaching there informed the Rao about the arrival of the Emperor. But Rao Maldeo, instead of receiving the Emperor personally, sent some presents to him with his servants.

We further learn from the *Humayun Nama* by Gulbadan Begham that Maldeo intimated the Emperor about granting Bikaner for his expenses[2].

Nizamuddin, the author of the *Tabkat-i-Akbari*, writes : When Humayun neared the territoty of Rao Maldeo, he despatched Shamsuddin Atka Khan to Jodhpur, and himself encamped on the border, awaiting his return. But when Maldeo realised the weakness of Humayun as well as the deficiency of forces under his command to face Sher Shah, he was rather perplexed, as he himself had not enough army to fight against a foe like Sher Shah. In the meantime, Sher Shah too sent his own emissary to the Rao, and, assuring him of great favour, obtained his promise to hand over Emperor Humayun as a captive to him. Besides this, as Nagaur and its adjoining districts were then under Sher Shah, the Rao was afraid that in case, he incurred his displeasure, Sher Shah might send a large army to attack his own territory. He, therefore, to avoid the disclosure of his intentions, did not permit Atka Khan to return to the Emperor, but Atka Khan read his heart and escaped to his master without even asking the Rao's permission.

Mulla Surkh, one of the Librarians of Humayun, who, after the Emperor's downfall had come to Rao Maldeo, also

---

1. *Akbar Nama* (E—English translation by Beveridge), Vol. I, pp. 371-72.

2. *Humayun Nama* (English translation by Mrs. Beveridge,) p. 154.

sent a secret letter to the Emperor, intimating him of the evil design of the Rao and further requested him to quit the territory of the Rao as soon as possible. At the same time Atka Khan too pressed the Emperor to do so. Thereupon, he immediately left for Umarkot[3].

As at that time Rao Maldeo was unwilling to incur the displeasure of Sher Shah, so as soon as he came to know about the departure of the Emperor towards Umarkot, he deputed some (1500)[4] of his soldiers to follow him.

Nizamuddin writes :—On his way, two Hindu spies were captured and brought before the Emperor. There number of questions were put to them, and with a view to draw true facts out of them it was ordered that one of them should be put to death. But at that moment they freed themselves from their captivity and snatching the daggers from the two persons standing nearby, fell upon their captors, and after killing a number (17) of them, they themselves were slain. In this scuffle the Emperor's own charger was also killed.

Thereupon Tardi Begh was asked to supply some horses and camels, but he refused. This compelled the Emperor to take his seat on a camel. As Nadim Koka could not bear to see this, so he offered his own mother's horse to the Emperor and seated her on the Emperor's camel.

As the way lay through a sandy and waterless tract, the party was proceeding slowly and every moment there was news of the approach (of the army) of Maldeo. The Emperor therefore ordered Munim Khan to march in the rear of the party with some soldiers, so that he may resist the pursuers on their approach.

At night-fall Munim Khan and his followers lost their track, and at day-break they espied the foe. At that moment

---

3. *Tabkat-i-Akbari* (*Elliot's History of India*), Vol. V, pp. 211-12 and *Humayun Nama* by Gulbadan Begham (English Translation—by Mrs. Beveridge), p. 154.

4. *Tazkare-al-Waqayat*, pp. 40-41.

only twenty-two persons, including Shekh Ali Beg, Koka Darwesh etc., were left behind, and when the enemy was passing through a hilly track, they fell upon them. As the leader of the enemies was felled by the first arrow of the Shekh, and some more of them were killed by others, this small band of Mughal soldiers was successful in routing the larger number of their adversaries[5].

Jauhar, the author of *Tazkare-al-Waqayat* writes[6] :— There were three parties of five hundred each in the enemy's army and Shekh Ali went to face them with only seven followers. As soon as they neared them, they began to shower arrows and by the grace of God two of the opponents fell down pierced by their arrows. This led the enemy to flee away from the field and the Emperor was victorious.

Humayunnama[7] *and Akbarnama*[8] also narrate this episode in the similar way.

But the version given in the Rajput chronicles is as under :—

When Humayun, after his defeat at the hands of Sher Shah arrived near Jodhpur to seek the help of Rao Maldeo, the Rao received him with befitting honours. Here the Emperor expressed his desire to encamp at Phalodi rather than near Jodhpur, which was gladly accepted. Accordingly, when he left Deijar for Phalodi, the Rao deputed some of his soldiers to follow him to ward off any conflict in the way. But the Imperial party took it as a plan to do away with them in the way and plunder their treasures. When Humayun reached

---

5. *Tabkat-i-Akbari* (*Elliot's Histry. of India*), Vol. V. pp. 212-13 and *Humayun Nama* by Gulbadabn Begum (Eng. Trans. by Mrs. Beveridge pp. 154-156 and *Akbarnama* (English Translation by Beveridge), Vol., pp. 373-374.

6. pp. 40-41.

7. Munshi Devi Prasad's Hindi Translation, pp. 70-73.

8. *Akburnama* (English Translation by Beveridge) Vol. I,

Phalodi, some of his retainers slaughtered a cow there. This provoked the Rajputs, which increased the suspicion already existing in the mind of the Emperor, and therefore he left Phalodi and proceeded towards Umarkot. But the Rajputs took this slaughter as an insult to their religion and to avenge it they attacked the rear guard of the Imperial cavalcade near atalmer and then turned back.

Though no mention of this event is found in Persian chronicles, yet we learn from Jauhar, the author of *Tazkare-al-waqayat*, that when the Emperor entered into the territory of Jaisalmer, his followers slaughtered some cows there. This offended the religious susceptibilities of Rao Lunkaran, the then ruler of Jaisalmer, and he commanded his son Maldeo to fill up all the wells with sand, which happen to fall in the way of the Imperial cavalcade, to deprive them of water. This resulted in the death of a number of Imperial followers. In this way, facing so many vicissitudes, the Emperor reached Umarkot.

In my opinion, the version found in the Rajput chronicles seems to be more reliable, because if the Rao had any mind to capture the Emperor to gratify Sher Shah, he could have easily done so, with the help of his 80,000 brave Rajput warriors, while the Emperor accompanied by a very small number of followers was encamped only eight miles from Jodhpur.

Further it is also impossible to believe the defeat of 1,500 Rajput cavalry at the hands of only eight or twenty-two Imperial horsemen as mentioned above.

We learn from the *Akbarnama* too that Humayun's party, at that time consisted of only 20 nobles, and a few soldiers and followers.

As regards the heroism of the Rajputs, it will be sufficient to point at the episode of the two supposed spies, mentioned above, who, even in captivity, were able to sell their lives so dearly, after killing 17 of their captors, as well as the Emperor's own horse.

As regards the slaughter of a cow, which is a most heinous crime in the eyes of the Rajpūts, I, looking to the statement of Jauhar, may presume that the Imperial party might have committed the same mistake even in the district of Phalodi just near the border of Jaisalmer.

Any-how after passing over his time of adversity, Emperor Humayun was able to re-capture the throne of Delhi on the 23rd of July, 1555 A.D., but unfortunately he could not survive long, as he breathed his last on the 26th of January 1556 A.D.

As regards the might of Rao Maldeo, I quote here a few proofs from the Persian histories :—

Abdul Fazal writes in his *Ain-e-Akbari*[9] :—Maldeo, who is the sixteenth ruler of his dynasty, is the mightiest ruler. Even Sher Khan was on the point of being crushed at his hands.

The same author writes in his *Akbarnama*[10] :—Rao Maldeo was the mightiest and greatest of all the rulers of India, in fame, splendour, army and territory.

We also learn from *Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri*[11] that Maldeo was the most influential ruler and his army consisted of 80,000 soldiers. He surpassed even Rana Sanga, who measured swords with Humayun.

We further learn from *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab*[12] that the Emperor Sher Shah often used to say "Thank God that any how victory was achieved, otherwise I would have lost the empire of Hindustan for a handful of millets.

As regards Maharaja Ajit Singh, the learned Doctor has not pointed out the particular event; hence, I am unable to discuss the facts. But the appendix B of the book in ques

---

9. *Ain-e-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 508.

10. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II, p. 197.

11. *Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri*, preface, p.7.

12. *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab*, p. 107.

tion itself contains a number of original proofs refuting the charges brought against the Maharaja by the old and the new historians.

At the end of the review Dr. Ishwari Prasad has written.—"The appendices are larger than the text of history. It would have been better if Mm. Reu had in his history utilised all the information and given us a systematic and critical survey of the development of Marwar."

In this connection I may inform my learned friend that I have already brought out a systematic and critical history of Marwar in two volumes each volume containing 400 pages[13], while this book is only to put at one place all the new and original proofs unearthed by the writer to facilitate the access of the scholars as requested by eminent scholars like Dr. Bhandarkar and Sir Jadunath Sarkar and pointed out in the preface of this book. Further the 62 pages introduction is only to show their connection with the history of Marwar at particular places.

It is a pity that modern scholars lean more towards the Persian chronicles, which, being first printed, are easily accessible to them, but when the facts established on mere Persian chronicles are tested by Rajput chronicles, they in some cases prove to be only a house of cards.

In conclusion, I may add that if more clarification of the facts is needed the Doctor will ever find me at his service.

---

13. *Marwar-kā-Itihāsa.*

THE PROBLEM OF THE RASAVAD-ALAṄKĀRA IN SANSKRIT POETICS

By ANIMA BOSE

Not realising the importance of suggested Rasa as the 'soul' or essence of poetry, and maintaining the sufficiency of embellishment of its expressed form or outward 'body' by means of Alaṅkāra (poetic figure) of Śabda and Artha, older theorists like Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin could not recognise Rasa independently. The idea of Rasa is certainly known to them, but whenever it occurs in a composition, they call the expression an Alaṅkāra and give it the name of Rasavat, which they define as a poetic figure which manifests the Rasas clearly.

This, in Ānandavardhana's opinion (ii. 4–6), is not a correct procedure. The Rasa being the Aṅgin, and the Śabda-Artha being the Aṅga, all cases of Rasa do not constitute Rasavad-Alaṅkāra. Cases of Aṅgin Rasas are cases of Rasas only. But there are instances where it is possible to subordinate Rasa (Aṅga) and use it, even as an Alaṅkāra is used, as a means of beautification of another idea; it is, in that particular case, not Rasa but something else. Thus, in the praise of a King, love for the king is the main idea suggested; it is a Bhāva; but the description of the heroism of the King (Vīra Rasa) may be effectively, but subordinately, employed, to embellish the main Bhāva of love for the king. Here Rasa is not the Aṅgin, but an Aṅga, and is undoubtedly used as Alaṅkāra. Here is the proper scope of the name Rasavad-Alaṅkāra.

But the necessity naturally arises of explaining how Rasa, which is Aṅgin or essential and therefore fit to be embellished (Alaṅkārya), can itself be regarded as an Aṅga and a means of embellishment (Alaṅkāra). Ānandavardhana

therefore, makes an attempt to justify such proper cases of Rasavat by comprehending them under the class of poetry called Guṇībhūtavyaṅgya, in which the suggested sense (here the suggested Rasa) is subordinated to the expressed sense. The theory is put into shape by distinguishing such subordinated case of the inclusion of Rasa or cases of Rasavat from the sphere of Asaṃlakṣyakrama Dhvani, on the ground that when the Rasa is predominant and forms the essence of the composition, it constitutes the Aṅgin, and it is Alaṅkāra (yah punar aṅgī raso vā bhāvo vā sarvākāram alaṅkāryah, sa dhvaner ātmeti); but when it is subordinated to the expressed sense as a means of embellishing it, it constitutes mere Alaṅkāra or embellishment (aṅgatvena ca rasādīnām alaṅkāratā). But such cases of subordination of Rasa are cases of Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya; for the Rasa, even when it is subordinate, is still a vyaṅgya, and cannot, strictly speaking, be regarded as an Alaṅkāra.

This is the history of what is called Rasavad-Alaṅkāra; but later writers, accepting this view, but unwilling to depart from the authority of the "ancients", attempt to explain the problem of Rasavat in various ways by methods of ingenious interpretation. Most of these views are discussed by Viśvanātha. One school holds that the designation Alaṅkāra, given to figures like Rasavat is merely because they help the development of Rasa (rasādyupakāra-mātreṇa), is a purely secondary application (bhākta) of the term; for they are not really Alaṅkāras, but should be accepted as such in deference to the practice of the ancients (cirantaṇa prasiddhyāṅgīkārya eva). These theorists admit (as Ānandavardhana does) a difference between Rasavat, on the one hand, and Alaṅkāras properly so called (such as Upamā), on the other hand; but the reason they adduce is that in the one case the Rasa directly embellishes another idea of another Rasa, but in the other case, the Rasa is indirectly embellished through the form of word and sense. But they

maintain at the same time that there is one thing in common between the two kinds, *viz.*, that both of them embellish the Rasa, either directly or indirectly, by being subservient to it. On account of this similarity of function, the designation Alaṅkāra, which is properly applicable to such figures as Upamā, is applied to Rasavat by an extension of the sense (Bhakti); and this usage is supposed to have the sanction of ancient authorities to which we must bow. But this explanation is rejected by others as being too fine. The difference between Alaṅkāras like Upamā, on the one hand, and the Rasavat, on the other, which is supposed to be due to direct and indirect embellishment, is admitted to be true, but is explained away as purely accidental and immaterial; and it is held that both should be designated Alaṅkāras. A third view, which altogether rejects this distinction of direct and indirect embellishment, maintains that the general definition of Alaṅkāra as that which embellishes is applicable as much to Rasavat as to regular figures like Upamā.

It is noteworthy in this connexion that Kuntaka does not accept the view of Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha with regard to the Rasavat. He criticises their definitions, and holds that it is neither darśita-spaṣṭa-śṛṅgārādi-rasam, nor rasa-saṃśrayam, nor again rasa-peśalam, but rasena saha tulyaṃ vartamānam; and consequently, he thinks that it is not an Alaṅkāra but Alaṅkārya. He deals with Rasavat topically under Vastu-vakratā, which may relate to both Sahaja and Āhārya Vastu, the delineation of Rasa coming apparently under the latter head as Kaviśakti-vyutpatti-paripāka-prauḍha. But Mammaṭa following Ānandavardhana, regards Rasavat as being comprehended under the Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya. And this view of Mammaṭa is generally accepted by most later writers who deal with the question.

THE CONCEPTION AND NUMBER OF PRAMĀṆAS ACCORDING TO VṚTTIKĀRA UPAVARṢA*

By V. A. Ramaswami Sastri

Upavarṣa is considered one of the earliest vṛttikāras on the *Pūrva* and *Uttara Mīmāṃsā Sūtras*. Some scholars identify him with Vṛttikāra Bodhāyana whom Rāmānuja follows closely in his *Śrībhāṣya*; others who do not accept this identification suggest that Bodhāyana is none other than Kṛtakoṭi. Many others question these identifications on the strength of internal and external evidences. Still they remain as vexed questions in the History of Sanskrit literature.

It is now an accepted fact that Śabarasvāmin, the celebrated bhāṣyakāra on the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā Sūtras* quotes in his *bhāṣya* on I. i. 5 from Upavarṣa's text. He does not, however, quote *verbatim* from his *Vṛtti*. He refers to one and the same person as Vṛttikāra in one place and by Upavarṣa in another. It is proposed in this paper to give an account of Upavarṣa's views regarding the nature and number of pramāṇas as gleaned from Śabarasvāmin's *Bhāṣya* on I. i. 5. and the *Ślokavārttika* thereon.

According to Upavarṣa, pratyakṣa is ever-valid. He defines it by the part of the Sūtra :' 'सत्संप्रयोगे पुरुषस्येन्द्रियाणां बुद्धिजन्म तत्प्रत्यक्षम्' by transposing the two words *sat* and *tat*. He adds that the so-called invalid perception like 'इदं रजतं' is not a genuine pratyakṣa but only a pratyakṣābhāsa a semblance of Pratyakṣa-also known as "असमीचीनप्रत्यय' which is characterised 'यस्य च दुष्टं करणं यत्र च मिथ्येति प्रत्ययः स एवासमीचीनः प्रत्ययो नान्य इति" Where the sensory organ of the perceiver is affected by

---

* Read in the Philosophy and Religion section of the All-India Oriental Conference, Benares, 1943.

some defect and where the sublating cognition arises there is doubtless an invalid perception and nothing else.

Nirālambanavāda of the Yogācāras :—Vṛttikāra Upavarṣa then proceeds to establish that all cognitions possess objects which have objective reality. Unless this is established, the authoritativeness of codanā on dharma, conceptions of puṇya and pāpa etc. cannot be explained on the basis of the Vedic texts. The Vṛttikāra observes :—

"प्रमाणत्वाप्रमाणत्वे पुण्यपापादि तत्फलम् ।
विध्यर्थवादमन्त्रार्थनामधेयादिकल्पना ॥
सर्वेषु लक्षणेष्वेवं स्वप्रमाणगणैः स्थितिः ।
वचनव्यक्तिभेदेन पूर्वसिद्धान्तपक्षता ॥
कर्मभ्यः फलसम्बन्धः पारलौक्यैह लौकिके ।
सर्वमित्याद्ययुक्तं स्यादर्थशून्यासु बुद्धिषु ॥
तस्माद्धर्मार्थिभिः पूर्वं प्रमाणैर्लोकसम्मतैः ।
अर्थस्य सदसद्भावे यत्नः कार्यः क्रियां प्रति ॥"

The Yogācāras among the Bauddhas who are generally known as Nirālambana-vādins argue that all cognitions are devoid of real objects. They accept the reality of cognitions but deny the reality of the objects they present. The Mādhyamika denies the reality of the cognitions also on the basis of the unreality of the objects they present. This is why the Bhāṣyakāra and the Vṛttikāra attempt the establishment of the reality of the objects presented by cognitions with the object of establishing the reality of the cognitions themselves. So observes the Vṛttikāra :—

"तदार्थशून्यं विज्ञानं योगाचाराः समाश्रिताः ।
तस्याप्यभावमिच्छन्ति ये माध्यमिकवादिनः ॥
तत्र बाह्यार्थशून्यत्वं तुल्यं तावद् द्वयोरपि ।
निवृत्यास्य ततो ज्ञाने तद्वत्संवृतिकल्पना ॥
तस्मात्साधारणत्वेन तन्मूलत्वेन चाप्ययम् ।
बाह्यार्थसदसद्भावे यत्नो भाष्यकृता कृत ।"

The commentator Sucarita Miśra explains the *Vārttika* as follows :—

"योगाचारा हि ज्ञानमात्रसमर्थशून्यं परमार्थिक मन्यन्ते। माध्यमिकास्तु ज्ञेयाभावादकर्मकज्ञानानुत्पत्तेः ज्ञानस्याप्यभावमिच्छन्ति। तत्र द्वयोरपि वादिनोस्तावत् बाह्यार्थशून्यत्व साधारणम्। अर्थनिवृत्त्यधीनत्वात् ज्ञाननिवृत्तेः। अतो द्वयोरपि साधारणो व ह्यार्थापलाप इति स एव निराक्रियते। अपि च तन्मूलो ज्ञानापह्नवः। (?) ततएतस्मिन्निराकृते निराकृत एवेति वाह्यार्थसद्भावे पूर्वोत्तरपक्षविभागेन भाष्यकृता प्रयत्नः कृतः॥"

The Yogācāras establish the unreality of external objects by two Pramāṇas—pratyakṣa and anumāna. The anumāna is first given by the Bhāṣyakāra in the opening *Bhāṣyu* :—"ननु सर्व एव निरालम्बनः स्वप्नवत्प्रत्ययः" which, if put in a syllogistic form, would run thus : "सर्वोऽपि प्रत्ययः निरालम्बनः, प्रत्ययत्वात्, स्वाप्नप्रत्ययवत्"। This is further elaborated and explained by the *Bhāṣya* :—"प्रत्यक्षस्य हि निरालम्बनतास्वभाव उपलक्षितः स्वप्ने, जाग्रतोऽपि स्तम्भ इति वा कुड्य इति वा प्रत्यय एव भवति। तस्मात्सोऽपि निरालम्बनः"॥ Just as all dream-cognitions are unreal in the sense that they do not present any real object, so also the cognitions in the awakened state are unreal, inasmuch as they are also cognitions resembling those in a dream. The *Bhāṣya*, therefore, supplies the three parts of the syllogistic argument—dṛṣṭānta, upanaya and nigamana.

Mīmāṃsaka's refutation :—The Mīmāṃsaka refutes this view thus :—the Pratyakṣa is more powerful than the anumāna ; so the inference establishing nirālambana-tva in reference to all cognitions in the awakened state contradicts the perception that all those cognitions are real. The objection that in the dream state, all cognitions appear to be real and valid is met on the ground that those cognitions are subsequently, sublated by those in the awakened state when the person realises that he was in the state of a dream or his mind was affected by drowsiness, while those in the awakened state are not sublated by similar cognitions—"स्वप्ने विपर्ययदर्शनात् अविपर्ययाच्चेतरस्मिन्". The argument that just as the dream-cognitions are unreal those in the awakened state can also be

considered to be unreal as they too are cognitions, is refuted by the fact that the invalidity of cognitions is found in their state of not being sublated by any succeeding cognition. "तत्सामान्यादितरत्रापि भविष्यतीतिचेत्-यदि प्रत्ययत्वात् स्वप्नप्रत्ययस्य मिथ्याभावः, जाग्रत्प्रत्ययस्यापि तथा भवितुमर्हति। अथ प्रतीतिस्तथाभावस्य हेतुर्न शक्यते प्रत्ययत्वादयमन्य इति वक्तुम्। अन्यतस्तु स्वप्नप्रत्ययस्य मिथ्याभावो विपर्ययादवगतः। कुत इति चेत्-सनिद्रस्य मनसो दौर्बल्यान्निद्रा मिथ्याभावस्य हेतुः स्वप्नादौ स्वप्नान्ते च। सुषुप्तस्याभाव एव। अचेतयन्नेव हि सुषुप्त इत्युच्यते। तस्माज्जाग्रतः प्रत्ययो न मिथ्येति"

The cognitions in the awakened state are not sublated by any succeeding cognition, nor is it known that the sensory organs of the person who cognises are affected by any defect as found in the dream-state. So the dream-cognitions are unreal and invalid while those in the awakened state are real and valid.

A cognition like नीलं cannot prove the existence of an external object like nīla as distinct from the cognition itself. What is actually experienced is the cognition with the form nīla which is considered the svātmāṃśa—the part of the cognition. The Yogācāra accepts the cognition as svaccha—pure and devoid of any quality—, yet it is associated with certain elements which may be considered the offspring of the previous cognitions that are transmitted to the succeeding ones when the former perish :

"मत्पक्षे यद्यपि स्वच्छो ज्ञानात्मा परमार्थतः।
यदाप्यनादौ संसारे पूर्वज्ञानप्रसूतिभिः॥"

So the cognition is the only reality deemed both grāhya and grāhaka—the object of perception and the perceiver. Though the cognition is one, the experience of it as grāhya and grāhaka is due to different kinds of vāsanās that are associated with it while one lives in this constantly changing world. The distinction of pramātā, pramiti and prameya—knower, knowledge and the known—is all unreal and based on the multifarious vāsanās in a way associated with the stream of rising and falling cognitions. The Vijñānavādin adds that

the reality of cognition cannot be denied even by those who accept the objective reality of external objects presented by the cognitions. It would therefore be better to say that the so-called objects like 'नीलं' presented by cognitions 'इदं नीलं' are *ākāra* or form of the cognitions themselves.

The Mīmāṃsaka refutes the view of the Vijñānavādin by pointing out that the grāhyavastu—the object perceivable—and the grāhaka, the perceiver or the means of perception cannot be identical. Even instances like ātman and light which illumine themselves while illumining others cannot prove the identity of grāhaka and grāhya though the properties of grāhakatva and grāhyatva at times reside in one and the same thing. The *Bhāṣya*: "स हि बहिर्देशसम्बन्धः प्रत्यक्षमुपलभ्यते।" explains that the object of perception is that which is in contact with the "बहिर्देश"; the cognition "इदं नीलं" has the idampadārtha which is perceived outside by the perceiver as its object which again is other than the cognition or part thereof—If it be solely the form of cognition, it would have been known as "नीलमहम्" and not "नीलमिदम्". The *Bhāṣya* "उत्पद्यमानैवासौ ज्ञायते ज्ञापयति चार्थान्तरं प्रदीपवत्" again opposes the view that there is the external object which becomes the viṣaya of cognition. The cognition when it is generated is also cognised like the bright light (without external help), and presents something as its object. So it becomes both grāhya and grāhaka simultaneously. This is met by the *Bhāṣya*. "सत्यं पूर्वं बुद्धिरुत्पद्यते न तु पूर्वं ज्ञायते।" It is true that cognition is produced, but it is not cognised at the time of its generation; nor does it become the object of itself when it presents an external artha as its object. The view that the cognition becomes both the grāhya and grāhaka simultaneously is objected to on the ground that sometimes we experience the grāhaka element without the grāhya when we say that a particular thing, though well known to us, is not alwayas remembered or appears to be unknown;

"भवति हि कदाचिदेतत् यत् ज्ञातोऽप्यर्थः सन् अज्ञात इत्युच्यते।"

Hence it cannot be maintained that the elements of grāhakatva and grāhyatva are identical.

The concluding *Bhāṣya* of this section "काममेकरूपत्वे बुद्धेरेवाभावः, नार्थस्य प्रत्यक्षस्य सतः" clearly points out the fact that if only one of the two—the cognition and the external object—is to be accepted, the cognition may even be negated rather than the external object the reality of which is perceived by each and every person. The acceptance of the reality of the external object is based on the universally valid perceptions that present these objects to our view. Hence the views of the Yogācāras and the Mādhyamikas that cognitions are devoid of real objects and that they are void cannot stand.

The Definition of Anumāna :—The definition of anumāna, according to Vṛttikāra Upavarṣa is given by the Bhāṣyakāra thus :

"अनुमानं ज्ञातसम्बन्धस्यैकदेशदर्शनादेकदेशान्तरेऽसन्निकृष्टेऽर्थे बुद्धिः"—

the inferential knowledge presents an object which has no contact with the sensory organs "असन्निकृष्टे" and which is one probandum of the two (related objects एकदेशान्तरे) ; (and this knowledge arises) on the basis of the perception of the other, *viz*. probans ("एकदेशादर्शनात्)" when their relation (invariable concomittance between the two) is known ("ज्ञातसम्बन्धस्य").

The meaning of the compound 'ज्ञातसम्बन्धस्य' : Every part of this definition is carefully scrutinized and explained by the Vārttikakāra. The compound "ज्ञातसम्बन्धस्य" may be taken as a bahuvrīhi or karmadhāraya. If it is a bahuvrīhi it may mean (1) "ज्ञातः सम्बन्धः येन" the pramātā or the knower who has already experienced the sambandha—the invariable concomittance of the probans and the probandum, both of which are conveyed by the words "एकदेश" in the definition ; or (2) "ज्ञातः सम्बन्धो यत्र" the pakṣaikadeśa in which the same sambandha between them might have been experienced :

ABHIJNĀNAŚĀKUNTALAM, A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY

By KSHEMADHARI SINHA

In this small paper I want to put something regarding the psychological phases elicited from the study of the *Śākuntalam*. It is impossible to take up all the verses in serial order and locate them in the link of the psychological laws of mind. I would, therefore, take up some interesting verses from it and try to link them with the psychological laws of mind enunciated in Western philosophy. For fear of inordinate prolixity animal psychology is set on the back-ground. In the verse :—

यदालोके सूक्ष्मं व्रजति सहसा तद्विपुलतां
यदर्धे विच्छिन्नं भवति कृतसन्धानमिव तत्।
प्रकृत्या यद्वक्रं तदपि समरेखं नयनयो–
र्न मे दूरं किञ्चित्क्षणमपि न पार्श्वे रथजवात्[1] ॥

The king Duṣyanta describes the rapid changes that the acceleritу of the horses brings about in the objects of the "Visual perception." The changes in the various cameras of bioscope when horses are running a contested race are shown in the board. There are so many cameras and each of them represents a momentary change i.e. shows the single phase of trot when the horses run. Exactly the same thing is described here. The gradual transition from minuteness to bulk, from breakage to repaired and from croockedness to straight nature all this is, to say, suppressed by the extremely rapid force with which the horses run where carrying the chariot and the intervening phases are set on the background, so that the King has to remark, "because

[1] Act. I. Śl. 9.

of the speed of the chariot nothing is either by me or off from me."

इदं किलाव्याजमनोहरं वपु-
स्तपः क्षमं साधयितुं य इच्छति ।
ध्रुवं स नीलोत्पलपत्रधारया
समिल्लतां छेत्तुमृषिर्व्यवस्यति[2] ॥

This śloka corroborates the well-known line of Shakespeare, " Who ever loved that loved not at the first sight;" The psychological laws of mind are well-demonstrated. But the King has hit his first mark on his object of love. The initial stage is undoubtedly a show of disinterested remark wherein the reader finds a mere generalisation. The delicate and frail constitution of Śakuntalā associated with the combrous and onerous duty with which she is interested gives the first thrill in the artery of the King who feigns to be a disinterested spectator and the King is compelled to remark an analogy, " Surely the sage attempts to saw a branch of sami tree with the edge of a blue lotus leaf."

सरसिजमनुविद्धं शैवलेनापि रम्यं
मलिनमपि हिमांशोर्लक्ष्म लक्ष्मीं तनोति ।
इयमधिकमनोज्ञा वल्कलेनापि तन्वी
किमिव हि मधुराणां मण्डनं नाकृतीनाम्[3] ॥

Herein we find the sentiment of the King rising a ladder. We have still but a disinterested aesthetic sentiment of the King, i.e., free from reference to self and its concerns. But the psychological law of mind has no exception as it is said, "The pursuit of aesthetic pleasure is often orduous, painful and irksome. Greater the interest, heavier the burden." The whole drama is replete with the testimonies of its proof. If the reader leaves the King

---

[2] Act. I. Sl. 16.
[3] Act. I. Śl. 17.

to his lot he himself finds an instance of Poetic induction in the form of a generalisation, "what is not an ornament to forms really graceful."

असंशयं क्षत्रपरिग्रहक्षमा
यदार्यमस्यामभिलाषि मे मनः ।
सतां हि सन्देहपदेषु वस्तुषु
प्रमाणमन्तःकरणप्रवृत्तयः[4] ॥

We now find the King garbed in robes of selfishness. A scion as he is to the greatest and loftiest and most sacred family of kings, he cannot venture to stoop to vulgar adultry and a legitimate course must be chosen; this is matrimonial alliance. The King is ignorant of the origin of Śakuntalā but clings to her personality and his selfishness is mantled with a lofty generalisation, when he says, "In doubtful matters the propensities of the minds of the noble are decisive proof." This generalisation exonerates him from the blame of "a desire for marrying a higher caste," i.e., he is sure, the girl does not belong to a Brāhmaṇa family.

वैखानसं किमनया व्रतमाप्रदाना–
द्व्यापाररोधि मदनस्य निषेवितव्यम् ।
अत्यन्तमेव मदिरेक्षणवल्लभाभि—
राहो निवत्स्यति समं हरिणाङ्गनाभिः[5] ॥

It is a query made to the friends of Śakuntalā wherein the king's extreme curiosity for knowing the exact period of the continued verginity of Śakuntalā outbursts itself. Could the king himself explain the interrogation? Perhaps not. An indifferent vergin is playing in the hermitage. What prompted the king to the question? It is also coloured with a pink of interested love, when we see the simile of her eyes and those of the dear playing together.

---

[4] Act I. Śl. 19.

[5] Act I. Śl. 23.

Undoubtedly there is concealed sympathy in the underground that peeps with the idea that such a beautiful girl should not and could not have been associated with the quadruped inmates of the forest and then deeper the reader dives into the heart of the king, greater the laurels with which he comes out. For, look here, the king is impatient to hear that Śakuntalā does not pass a life-long celibacy and that her verginity is limited by the natural matrimonial alliance. We may call the king's question brimming to obscenity when we mark in it the colour of cupidity "व्यापाररोधि मदनस्य."

वाचं न मिश्रयति यद्यपि मद्वचोभिः
कर्णं ददात्यभिमुखं मयि भाषमाणे।
कामं न तिष्ठति मदाननसंमुखीना
भूयिष्ठमन्यविषया न तु दृष्टिरस्याः[6] ॥

This verse gives us the crisis of the age of Śakuntalā. She is not only developed but she reached a stage where delays are dangerous. But for the noble descent, she could have scarcely retained her chastity. A few counted visits produce these dreadful sentiments and symptoms of blooming passion playing in the core of the vergin's heart. In this śloka we find pairs of discordant sentimental phenomena mingled anthetically. Śakuntalā dares not enter into an open conversation with the king or look at him but with whole-hearted wrapt attention sips up the ambrosial questions made by the king himself. Her mind and body though identically the same wear divergent colour. Her external features give a lie to the workings of her heart and this curious phenomenality playing in her heart is perceptible to that one only who has forgotten all his appertenances and sunk into the workings of her heart.

गच्छति पुरः शरीरं धावति पश्चादसंस्थितं चेतः।
चीनांशुकमिव केतोः प्रतिवातं नीयमानस्य[7] ॥

---

[6] Act. I. Sl. 27

[7] Act. I Śl. 30.

These lines give us a clue to that stage of the king's sentiment where a physical separation for even the twinkling of an eye is unbearable. The analogy vivifies it. The gust of wind dashing against the waving banner when the flagstick is being carried to the opposite direction is here put for the workings in the heart of the king. The waving flag little cares for the stick when it is dashed asunder by the contradictory wind. So does the heart of the king care not for the physical environments and circumstances, that handicapped him. They had their own ways. Circumstances compelled the king to sever himself off from the then physical locality. But his heart like the waving cloth of the pinion dogmatically clings to that celestial physique that he compares with the flash of the lightning.

स्निग्धं वीक्षितमन्यतोऽपि नयने यत्प्रेषयन्त्या तया
यातं यच्च नितम्बयोर्गुरुतया मन्दं विलासादिव।
मा गा इत्युपरुद्धया यदपि सा सासूयमुक्ता सखी
सर्वं तत्किलमत्परायणमहो कामी स्वतां पश्यति[8]॥

In this verse we once again find how the king interprets the outward expressions both vocal and facial relating to the girl. Every movement in her action is sealed with and gets the tinge of the king's selfishness. The very fact that he loves her produces in him an idea of the reciprocity of his love. Her exchange of words with Priyamvadā is taken by the king to be based on that very reciprocity budding as it is still in her heart. The bulk of hips would naturally bring sloth in the gait of Śakuntalā and this our lover (Duṣyanta) attributes to the deliberate tarrying in her movement. All this stands on one side; while on the other, works the adage "स्नेहो हि पापशंकी" which is repeated by a Sakhī of Śakuntalā at the time of her departure for husband's home. Stand as it does, the king

8 Act. II. Śl. 2.

is himself sceptic of the recovery of its momentary sickness just as the guardian of a babe is of the recovery from its momentary sickness. In short, we may here remark that the king gives the analysis of her heart which is rightly called. "मनोवैज्ञानिकविश्लेष."

शमप्रधानेषु तपोधनेषु
गूढं हि दाहात्मकमस्ति तेजः।
स्पर्शानुकूला इव सूर्य्यकान्ता-
स्तदन्यतेजोभिभवाद्वमन्ति[9]॥

With an eye on this śloka and another on the avenue of the context we get a glimpse of a strange drama working in the heart of the royal lover. His heart has screwed itself on the divinely beautiful lady. But he cannot wash his hands off the royal insignia which he bears. Royal command for the capture of forest beasts is already given. The commander knows but little what passes in her hermitage and the psychology of the royal heart is a dream to that purely military martial spirit. Amorous sentiments are not for him to look at, while the king himself pines for the celestial beloved and fidgets for finding a scope for a long stay in the hermitage. Neither time nor energy has he for hunting excursions and then the difficulty pitches higher still as he has put forward a reasonable ground for the postponement of excursions. It should not only be strong but should wear the colour that behoves the highly religious glory the king wears and not less the sacred potentiality concealed into the inmates of the hermitage absorbed in but austerities, sacraments and penances. It is therefore that we find the analogy of the solar jewel's emition of light and fire with the touch of solar rays. In short, the commander gets the order of postponing the excursions as any sort of foul action is likely to stir up the hidden glory of the hermitage wherein merely the externalities wear up

---

[9] Act. II. Śl. 7.

a peaceful appearance of calmness, non-violence and forbearance.

दर्भाङ्कुरेण चरणक्षत इत्यकाण्डे
तन्वी स्थिता कतिचिदेव पदानि गत्वा ।
आसीद्विवृत्तवदना च विमोचयन्ती
शाखासु वल्कलमसक्तमपि द्रुमाणाम्[10] ॥

The reader will permit me to crave for pardon when I have to remark in this verse that the Vidūsaka of Kālidāsa out-does the Falstaff of Shakespeare. The present Falstaff has not only humour and farce for recommendation. He plays the part of a private secretary to the king's amorous department (i.e., technically called नर्मसचिव) as well. He has full authority for discussing with the royal lover and the king has to satisfy him when persuing the satisfaction of his passion. Consequently, the king means to say, "I am busy not only for an aerial architecture. There is sufficient substantiality in the substratum of my love. My beloved tarried her movements on the external plea of her thorny prick in the outskirts of her wearing apparel of extricating the cloth from it." The artificial interval gave the girl scope for expressing her sentiments to and about the king and sipping the royal personality with her amorous glances. Equally eager she is for the search of the royal heart. She expects a fitting response to the cordial love that has now become her psychological sickness and physiological unrest. She little knows how her love is received by the royal lover. But more than the lover or beloved knows the reader how developed and how reciprocal is the mutual love of the pair. Let the slanting lines of their love rise up in harmonious directions, each anxious to meet the other; it is sure there must be a vertical pyramid.

यदुत्तिष्ठति वर्णेभ्यो नृपाणां क्षयि तत्फलम् ।
तपःषड्भागमक्षय्यं ददात्यारण्यका हि नः[11] ॥

---

[10] Act. II. Śl. 12
[11] Act. II. Śl. 13

F. 22

The king is awfully busy with the Vidūṣaka on the opic of the celestial target and discusses the question of re-entering into the hermitage. On what plea? This is the question. The Vidūṣaka irresponsible of anything else makes the suggestion of entering into the cottage with the plea of toll collection (rent realisation). Poor fellow! He has no culture; he takes it befitting the dignity of the king to approach the noble ascetics personally as the hermits are too high personages to have demands from the royal peons or tax-collectors. To this suggestion the king means to say "Damn with your proposal, don't apply royalty everywhere. Their sacred personalities should not have these groveling demands for taxes. As for rent or revenue they automatically pay one sixth fraction of the fruit (moral results) of their virtuous deeds." Now, just mark the psychological analysis. Doting as the king is for a young girl not wholly so absorbed, since quickened he is by the noble hermitage to which he belongs. There is a conflict between his groveling interest and his noble blood. Each must have its share. The solution will, therefore, have to be given later on (in the text). For the present we must be rest assured with the notion that the king's noble heritage predominates. For the time being, the groveling interests are made to be suppressed. It is, therefore, that the king cancels the proposal of the Vidūṣaka. His sense of duty and moral obligation mingled with that royal responsibility never leave him. This is due to the inherent nature latent in him.

कृत्ययोर्भिन्नदेशत्वाद्द्वैधीभवति मे मनः।
पुरः प्रतिहतं शैले स्रोतः स्रोतोवहो यथा[12]॥

This is an instance of sheer conflict of desire and active resolution resulting therefrom. The king is fidgeting for gratifying his amorous passion and his love for the girl

[12] Act. II. Sl. 17

gives him a smarting unrest. At any rate his stay is a dire necessity; but as ill-luck would have it, he gets a call from his mother for attending some ceremonials to be performed by her for his own well-being. He is an ideal hero and he must not and should not trifle it. Thus, he has a strong problem practically. This is our psychological problem. The practical phenomenon of impulse has already occurred and the stages are rising. First we have inhibition स्तब्धभाव. It is a kind of tension that paralyses the will. In this state of mind problems press up and two courses are wide open. Each has its own vehement and violent force for the impulses. The second stage is to compare the relative values of the desires as ends and also the means for realising them, i.e., the king has to ponder over the two courses. Next step is choice. Herein the hero has to identify himself with a particular desire and thus he is held responsible for the act. The course chosen by the hero is to stay in the hermitage. But definiteness comes in thel ast stage and he has to stop his instant departure homewards, vesting the Vidūṣaka with the duties of his own personality towards the royal mother. At any rate this is a mere substitution; so a response to the royal mother's call is done by a substitute only. It is, therefore, that in the lines following the above verse we find the king authorising the Vidūṣaka to go home in response to the call of his mother with the whole royal retinue. The problem is thus solved. But the reader will himself mark the difficulty in which the king is put. The problem has only been solved off. The solution has not satisfied the lofty dignity and the royal nobility that wear the high responsibility with which the crown is set. Now, in conclusion little remains to be said. We must not shut our eyes to the hidden sense of shame which must have overpowered the king while dismissing the Vidūṣaka with the royal retinue merely for the satisfaction of the groveling

passion. The verse in pure words merely takes the conflict of his desires.

क्व वयं क्व परोक्षमन्मथो
मृगशावैः सह मेधितो जनः।
परिहासविजल्पितं सखे
परमार्थेन न गृह्यतां वचः[13] ॥

The Vidūṣaka is on the eve of his start for the royal residence. The lamp of love is burning in the royal heart and the royal hero is extremely anxious to mention secrecy especially because the reciprocity of his love has not yet been translated into action. He, therefore, means to say to his so called friend the Vidūṣaka, "Passionate love is a very delicate pathological disease and is much too serious before it is carried into actions. Cupidity should have a harmonious pair to play with. There should be no discord. Śakuntalā is a country girl and myself a noble scion of a very lofty family situate in a royal capital. You should never believe that love with her is my true subject. My friendly discourse with you must cover all subjects moral, amorous, philosophical and even political. Put not veracity in every line of it. You will often have jests and fun from me." Now, just mark in what critical plight our noble hero is put. The love has not yet been translated into matrimonial alliance and his friendly substitute vested with the royal personality (for the particular occassion) is not expected to have that gravity. He has no alternative. He must stick to the dotage and must leave his "Falstaff" of lower culture for home. All phases of policy here fail and his royal philosophy cannot work. He has to close his anxiety with the idea that, "the Vidūṣaka must believe in me when I deny this true love and that he will never

---

[13] Act II. Śl. 18.

reveal this to any one much less to the harem inmates that dreadful jargon of secrecy at present."

शक्यमरविन्दसुरभिः कणवाही मालिनीतरङ्गाणाम् ।
अङ्गैरनङ्गतप्तैरविरलमालिङ्गितुं पवनः[14] ॥

This verse supports the traditional phrase "Fever of passion." The physiological symptoms for ordinary fever and fever of passion are much too akin and similar. Increase in temperature, circulation of blood, rapidity of pulse beating and derangement of brain (in the critical stage)—all these play important part therein. Our poor hero, though royal, is subject to both kinds of fever. The actual fever of heat has not come but that of passion has already possessed him. Atmospheric heat, however, must aggravate the situation as already remarked and then he has no paraphernalia or royal appertinunces with him. In this state nature helps him and gets a gentle waft of cool breeze associated with the lotus pollens and scent as also with the microscopic particles of soft acquatic drops and he realises this. There is nobody to listen to his expression of gratitude but at any rate his heart has to give it out and he is gradually feeling how the febrile heat is repressed and suppressed by the natural breeze that is sent by the gods residing in the sweet scented acquatic region of the Mālinī river.

स्मर एव तापहेतुर्निर्वापयिता स एव मे जातः ।
दिवस इवार्धश्यामस्तपात्यये जीवलोकस्य[15] ॥

The king has been applying all the movements and expressions of Śakuntalā to her love for himself, but his curiosity has reached a great pinnacle and the psychological liminal point is already come. A crisis is here ; any further delay much more a sheer disappointment would explode his heart and volcanise it. Providence must send a

---

14 Act. III. Śl. 4.
15 Act III Śl. 9.

solace. In the crisis the heroine Śakuntalā who is engaged in a friendly conversation with the two friends remarks the reason of her unrest as, 'I have been reduced to this sorrowful plight since the high personality of that royalty appeared before my ken for the first time.' The king is sure that this lucky fellow is none else but himself and thus his loss of energy and time gets a strong hope ; we may say a thriving and prosperous hope. An intelligent hero as he is, he is sure that this time he is travelling in an imaginary circle. Śakuntalā has already given him to know what he wanted to know. Consequently, he describes his own psychological condition in poetic language and means to say, "God Cupid has been all the while playing with me and I was always afraid I would be hurrled down to some condition base and ignoble but no, my smarting is sufficiently rewarded." Greater the labour, curiosity, smarting and interest, greater rises the value of the subsequent resultum thereof. I may here remark that Kālidāsa appears fond of squeezing every nerve of his hero and heroine before he rewards them with their 'ought to receive.' This principle of the poet is seen doubly applied in "*Kumārsambhava*". Wherein he puts his heroine "Gaurī" subject to rigorous severities of austerities done in various seasons and then rewards her with a word from the hero Śiva as "अद्य प्रभृत्यवनताङ्गि तवास्मि दासः" In this verse he is giving his psychological generalisation when he says "क्लेशः फलेन हि पुनर्नवतां विधत्ते" i.e., any labour or loss of energy is recouped sufficiently when the wished for desire appears in its magnanimity.

परिग्रहबहुत्वेऽपि द्वे प्रतिष्ठे कुलस्य मे।
समुद्ररसना चोर्वी सखी च युवयोरियम्[16]॥

In this śloka we have three parties—the royal hero, the solicitous vergin, and her mate Priyamvadā. Of these,

[16] Act. III. Śl. 17.

the king smarts with love for the heroine Śakuntalā whose love is, in its own turn, dangerously developed. Each of the pair is blind to his or her own merits and exaggeratedly over values the merits of the other. The consequence is that the poet dallies with the sentiments of both of them and so does the reader. It should be carefully marked that the adage "स्नेहो हि पापशंकी" has been working throughout. The country vergin Śakuntalā puts her doubt before Priyamvadā—will this marriage be to the displeasure of the present queens (the inmates of the harem) and Priyamvadā puts the same question directly to the king. At this our hero looses himself and his gravity. He has to take the solemn pledge and he says, "The sea-girt earth and this friend of yours will ever be the glory of our family, i.e., I put in your friend Śakuntalā the value that is not a whit less than that of the Earth." The king, in the subtle core of his heart, would welcome the loss of the vast kingdom at the very moment he would think of forsaking his fiancee queen. The expression—"The sea-girt earth" merely gives us the magnanimous value she has, i.e. the Earth and the heroine Śakuntalā are put in the same scale.

Now, in most of the foregoing verses we have been blaming our royal hero for stooping himself much lower than his dignity would sanction and this verse cannot claim to be an exception to it. He cares not for the queens who are senior to Śakuntalā in age and sequence at least. He ignores their merits and this perhaps is of the beehood which he possesses, (when the bee (male bee) sips up exhaustively the juice of one flower and then enters the other for his enjoyment). Perhaps Kālidāsa could not have any way out of it. A moral compromise was impossible because of the plurality of queens that ancient kings had. No thoughtful vergin born of a celestial nymph and virtuous ascetic would ever condescend to play a mere maid servant or a concubine in the harem. It would not be overboldness to an-

nounce here that Śakuntalā's personality and noble thought surpassed the same of the king. The reader has been seeing how awfully smarting she has been with the curiosity for the reciprocity of her love. How curiously she surpasses her sentiments and throws a fling to the promise that she would never be playing merely a fiddle before her senior queens. She would enter into a solemn marriage with the king only on the pledge that she should be harmoniously received as a Paṭṭarājñī in the Royal family, though her question wanted merely the assent of her co-wives.

An important factor should not be left unmentioned here; this is the religious and moral strength that the Indian scriptures have given to the male sex in general, i.e., a female of high caste has no other alternative but to cling to a husband that may be in caste either equal to her or superior to her. But a male is entitled to the privilege of plurality of wives. Perhaps this religious sentiment would support the king when we find the phrase "परिग्रहबहुत्वेऽपि" in the text. The king admits that he has and that he is entitled to have a plurality of co-wives while the heroine who is a country girl knows full well that she has no alternative and is, therefore, eager to exhort a promise of honour and dignity, in this crisis from her loving fiance who would at this moment forego anything for satisfying his growing emotion (which may rightly be called at this stage a blooming passion).

तस्याः पुष्पमयी शरीरलुलिता शय्या शिलायामियं
क्लान्तो मन्मथलेख एष नलिनीपत्रे नखैरर्पितः।
हस्ताद्भ्रष्टमिदं बिसाभरणमित्यासज्यमाने क्षणो
निर्गन्तुं सहसा न वेतसगृहाच्छक्नोमि शून्यादपि[17]॥

The sentiments of this śloka cannot be analysed without reference to its context. There are various readings of this verse and in one of them the piece of the scene

---

[17] Act. III Śl. 23.

is improfitably prolonged (as one of the annotators says). Perhaps it does not go for nothing. It furthers the action of the play. Therein you will find the hero and the heroine in an improved state of practicality; it may rightly be called an obscenity. But at any rate it helps the analysis of the present verse and gives a scientific explanation to the birth of the royal child that we find in the end of the play.

Now, Śakuntalā has been reluctantly weaned off from the secret and pleasant company of her royal consort. The Gāndharva-vivāha is finished. God cupid is satisfied on both ways. But it is not like the satisfaction of an organic appetite. Hunger is satisfied and a man is satiated with a delicious dish. But this passionate appetite is scarcely satisfied and in fact, the old example of fire and ghee ever goes playing. Each interview gives a call to the second one and satiety moves with the horizon. The present context shows that our royal pair have no doubt appeased their want and much more their organic appetite. But the true psychological craving for satiety is ever ablazed and the king is left on the threshold of that unrest. An intelligent reader can very well infer the sentiments of the loving heroine and also for she has now become a fit mate to the grateful hero. That pyramid of reciprocity of love is before the reader no doubt. But satiety is not the vertical point. Each little part of the appertinunces and concerns of Śakuntalā gives a solace as well as a pang to the king.

There are so many belongings—the crushed out flower bed of Śakuntalā withered by her frail constitution, the love letter scribed on the lotus leaf with her nail and above all is the bracelet of lotus stalk slipped down her arms. These are the sources of the penalty that the Rājā had to pay for his new love. But there is no repentence. For a legitimate wife and a chaste consort is sure to meet her husband sooner or later. At any rate, however, we find the king

reluctant to leave this place. He suffers but little pang for at the sight of the above things he finds mighty consolation and his heart hums in soliloquy, "I cannot so hastily leave this bower of cane lonely though it be," it is, therefore, that an accidental call is given to him by an aerial voice "सायंतने सवनि. . . . ."

संकल्पितं प्रथममेव मया तवार्थे
भर्त्तारमात्मसदृशं सुकृतैर्गता त्वम् ।
चूतेन संश्रितवती नवमालिकेय–
मस्यामहं त्वयि च सम्प्रति वीतचिन्तः[18] ॥

Śakuntalā is on the eve of her departure for her husband's home and her mind oscillates like a pendulum turning at time towards her husband and at others towards the inmates of the hermitage. Kulapati Kaṇva is her foster-father. He has been fostering Śakuntalā for a period sufficient to allow him to play a true father. For all intents and purposes he has the same sentiment, and so every reader will look to him as upon the father of a girl ready for her husband's residence. Our heroine's house (husband's home) must not be at a distance less than a hundred miles. Now, let us scan his sentiments psychologically. More than two thirds of a dozen of sentiments we find wrapping the poor hermit :

(i) Before knowing of the private nuptial sage Kaṇva had been extremely solicitous for finding a husband befitting the personality of his daughter Śakuntalā. Now, this casual alliance has allayed his anxiety.

(ii) The sage knows full well the dignified personality of his so-called son-in-law Duṣyanta and has also perhaps known that Śakuntalā has the safest corner in the heart of hearts of her royal husband. Consequently, he is also up and transported with joy.

---

18 Act. IV. Śl 12

(iii) The lofty dignity of king Duṣyanta dignifying his girl Śakuntalā has also glorified his heart and now he has become the father-in-law of a Cakravartī king, which he must aspire for, as he has a daughter to give.

(iv) Simultaneously, he feels disburdening himself from the religious responsibility that burdens the shoulder of every householder having a daughter.

(v) But inspite of these relieving sentiments he must not be free from the pang that tortures every householder at the moment his daughter leaves him for a period unsettled and unknown. We may safely call it a kind of guarded grief. He does not repent but he suffers the pang. He does not think of amending but he thinks of forgetting one whom he has been nourishing from her very babyhood.

(vi) At any rate we find the word "वीतचिन्तः," : and we should not forget the gravity of the heart of the great sage. He finds a kind of moral equilibrium and the peace of an equipoised hermit that must hence forward be the state of his and also his solace.

(vii) This solace he enjoys not only himself but puts it into the heart of the departing girl who must also be consoled on the eve of his separation from the hermitage wherein she has passed all her long past years fleetingly.

(viii) But we should not shut our eyes from the milk of kindness that has been flouring in the heart of the pitiful sage. Every piteous cry is hell in him and he must try to mend the situation. He has to nurse two fosters. One of these was girl Śakuntalā and another was the Navamālikā creeper both forlorn and uncared for. He has entered his heart in their interests and is gratified to find them united to king Duṣyanta and the mango tree respectively.

(ix) Above all we must appreciate the feelings of Kaṇva who has been keeping all the various heterogeneous sentiments in perfect harmony. He must be a perfect jñānī

and must have been attributing the worldly phenomenalities to the force of illusion "Māyā." There cannot be any psychological explanation to the above diverse sentimentalities other than the advice of Śrī Kṛṣṇa when he says.—

'कर्मणा मनसा वाचा केवलैरिन्द्रियैरपि।
योगिनः कर्म्मं कुर्वन्ति सङ्गं त्यक्त्वात्मशुद्धये[9]॥

आचार इत्यवहितेन मया गृहीता
या वेत्रयष्टिरवरोधगृहेषु राज्ञः।
काले गते बहुतिथे मम सैव जाता
प्रस्थानविक्लवगतेरवलम्बनार्था[20]॥

This verse depicts the sentiment of the Kañcukī. He seems to have behind him a series of long services covering his youth and reaching to his old age. A warder or a gate keeper in royal palaces has for his emblem generally the insignia of a long stick. It was very seldom used for any offensive or defensive purposes. This Kañcukī remembers the day when he had absolutely no necessity of any physical support. His stick only wore an external appearance for warding off the uncongenial elements or beings. Now, he has become so infirm and decripid by virtue of his old age that he has to use the same stick for his physical support. He cannot stand on his own legs firmly. We can easily imagine his utility in the royal palaces. He must have possessed all the necessary elements for his post without ever making a slip, as a series of long standing services is behind him. But the poor fellow is now on the threshold of his retirement, and feels his responsibility rather irksome

---

[19] BG. V. 11.
[20] Act. V. Śl. 3.

and is much more of the form of necessity than of mere diversion or glory.

औत्सुक्यमात्रमवसाययति प्रतिष्ठा
क्लिश्नाति लब्धपरिपालनवृत्तिरेनम्।
नातिश्रमापनयनाय न च श्रमाय
राज्यं स्वहस्तधृतदण्डमिवातपत्रम्[21] ॥

We find the royal hero now in a different sphere. He is in his palacial court. Laden with his onerous responsibilities and irksome burden of his empire, he has shed off and had shirked himself off from his beehood. The curse of Durvāsā has full sway over him. There is no trace of love perceptible in his heart. It has been substituted by politics. Intricated questions have taken the place of the anxiety for the reciprocity of his love and then the peculiarity is that he finds nc delight in the exalted position wherein Providence has placed him. Perhaps a psychologist would call his heart at this stage a black camera or a dark slate in magic lantern. Both physical and mental exhaustion seems to have spent him up. He little knows that a poor hermit girl is coming fully sanguine of a share in his harem and is much less prepared to lend an ear to her entreaties. At this stage he is neither a king proud of his dignity nor a loving hero ready for reaping the fruit of his flowery broadcast. If the reader passes from the chamber of pure psychologist to that of mysterious philosophy he can easily imagine that his heart is unconsciously and mysteriousy . getting itself prepared for receiving it. The king is not only indifferent to the glory of his exalted personality but rather calls it a burden. The metaphor of the umbrella is most striking in one respect. It saves the weather from the severities of heat and rain and so does the dignity of the state save the crowned monarch from the pinches of the

[21] Act. V. Śl. 6.

dire necessities of human being. But akin to the handle of the umbrella is the management of the state. No pleasure can be felt without feeling its burden. Hand and heart respectively must be prepared for carrying their dutious burden before allowing the wearer a happy play of enjoyment.

का स्विदवगुण्ठनवती नातिपरिस्फुटशरीरलावण्या।
मध्ये तपोधनानां किसलयमिव पाण्डुपत्राणाम्[22] ॥

Here is the art of the poet. We have found the hero and the heroine in perfect enjoyment of pleasures and also see that Śakuntalā is on the threshold of entering motherhood but curious are the ways of heaven. The intervening circumstances are cast in oblivion and the royal hero is now muttering the expressions akin to those that he gave out in his soliloquy on his first entrance to the hermitage. *cf.* "अनाघ्रात पुष्पं" . He has himself turned to be the enjoyer of this "अनाविद्धं रत्नं" and of "अखण्डं पुण्यानां." But the dark clouds of Durvāsā's curse has moistened the genial atmosphere of his heart and he views at her with almost the same curiosity that he did on the outset. But for our knowledge of Durvāsā's curse we must have attributed an ignoble insincerity in him if only he had not possessed the noble dignity that he had. The reader can well appreciate or else depriciate the curses of Durvāsā: that clasping boon of the king to have turned so indifferent and to have been darkened by the wintry fogs of oblivion! How else could he be exonerated from the blame of immoral adultery and insincerity if only Durvāsā were not allowed to enter the stage.

इदमुपनतमेवं रूपमक्लिष्टकान्ति
प्रथमपरिगृहीतं स्यान्न वेति व्यवस्यन्।
भ्रमर इव विभाते कुन्दमन्तस्तुषारं
न च खलु परिभोक्तुं नैव शक्नोमि हातुम्[23] ॥

---

[22] Act. V. Śl. 13.
[23] Act. V. Sl. 19

The cloud of Durvāsā's curse has darkened the sun of our royal hero's heart. It has possessed him at most and does not allow him to put confidence in the messengers of the sweet message of his father-in-law Kaṇva. But a noble scion as he is of the noble descent of his royal family, the fire of his conscience is not wholly extinguished. It is a smouldering from underneath the ashes of the curse. It is, therefore, that he is once again put between the horns of two dilemmas. The psychological difficulties of the conflict of duties are again ahead, perhaps Kālidāsa takes delight in putting hard tests in the moral decision of his heroes. Even an intelligent head would be unable to suggest any course; rather even the poet himself passes off with the solution. The solution is not satisfactory to almost every man of heart (रसिक). We may here compare this verse with the verse in the *Raghuvaṃśa* when Rāma has been put in a similar difficulty :

किमात्मनिर्वादकथामुपेक्षे जायामदोषामुत संत्यजामि ।
इत्येकपक्षाश्रयविक्लवत्वादासीत्स दोलाचलचित्तवृत्तिः[24] ॥

In both these cases the reasons are almost similar, i.e., a moral consideration for public ideas and the king's soliloquy bursts forth outwardly when he puts this question to the disciples of Kaṇva, "दारत्यागी भवाम्याहो परस्त्रीस्पर्शपांसुलः" Should I be prepared for incurring the sin of abdicating my wife or that of viciating myself with a touch of other's wife.

कृताभिमर्शामनुमन्यमानः
सुतां त्वया नाम मुनिर्विमान्यः ।
मुष्टं प्रतिग्राहयता स्वमर्थं
पात्रीकृतो दस्युरिवासि येन[25] ॥

No psychologist can stop without remarking the fraternal love of Śārngarava and Śāradwat, the two disciples.

[24] 14. Śl. 34.
[25] Act. V. Śl, 20.

The inmates of the hermitage had in fact no blood-relaionship but instead they retained the same sentiments and to this Śārngarava was no exception. One Gautamī took herself to be the sister of the sage and these two disciples consequently had to treat Śakuntalā as their true sister. We may also mention here that the friends Anusūyā and Priyamvadā also must have been taken to be sisters of Śakuntalā in the same light. Now with these pathological and artificial relationship the tie of mutual friendship was so strongly set that our Śārngarava stands by Śakuntalā with an idea no less than befitting a uterine brother (full brother). It is as he ought to have that he comes with his sister to reach her to her husband's house; while the husband who is a great king, is wrapt in the clouds of forgetfulness and pronounces her to be an unchaste and corrupted girl impregnated by some body else. This is what offends the Śārngarava most and by his violent emotions and fit of impulse he is emboldened to call the king a vagabound debauchee. He means to say, "To our ignorance you with your natural profligacy spoiled the celibacy and chastity of our sister, this girl, Śakuntalā; who had no other recourse but to enter into a solemn marriage with you. Now, that your amorous curiosity is satisfied you refuse to admit her in your harem. More than you is our Kulapati Kaṇva to blame. Instead of the approval of your matrimonial alliances he ought to have loaded you with curses for your downfall. This would have been the right path for him. Now, that he has shown his high culture and noble mentality, you take advantage of it. Your ignoble mentality deserved curses and not this homage; so the Kulapati has been rightly punished for his indiscrete use of noble gentleness.

कामं प्रत्यादिष्टां स्मरामि न परिग्रहं मुनेस्तनयाम् ।
बलवत्तु दूयमानं प्रत्याययतीव मे हृदयम्[26] ॥

---

[26] Act. V. Sl. 31.

Our poor hero, though royal, has now been enslaved by Durvāsā's curse. All his noble descent and gentle nature with moral consciousness have been darkened by the forces of it. But a mysterious voice of God that we may rightly say dignity gives up its spark as a fire of Providence and at times throw some light. The king takes the story of his marriage no doubt to be a fibrated concoction manufactured at the hermitage of Kaṇva. But his conscience as it belongs to the member of an exalted noble family gets ready for lending an aid. So here is a great conflict and tension between the curse of Durvāsā and the royal conscience. The royal conscience is no doubt suppressed and its dim voice of mild huming turns inaudible among the bustles of the curse. The mist and fog of the curse has moistened his heart and the sun of his conscience peeps from underneath the dark clouds emitting forth its rays like the sun near about the advent of the autumn or in the middle of the winter.

इतः प्रत्यादेशात्स्वजनमनुगन्तुं व्यवसिता
मुहुस्तिष्ठेत्युच्चैर्वदति गुरुशिष्ये गुरुसमे ।
पुनर्दृष्टिं बाष्पप्रसरकलुषामर्पितवती
मयि क्रूरे यत्तत्सविषमिव शल्यं दहति माम्[27] ॥

Mysterious are the ways of Heaven. Human mind (or rather philosophical ego) is seldom satisfied. We have been marking how listlessly king Duṣyanta has been pining for his the then fiency (Śakuntalā). After the satisfaction of his desires just on the psychological moments when Śakuntalā had to withdraw herself from the stage of enjoyment the royal hero got again bed rid on his "Śakuntalā form" (*cf.* (तस्याः पुष्पमयी). Now, the same hero was forced by mysterious circumstanees to abdicate her, as he has lost that continued presence of mind. Śakuntalā

---

27 Act. VI. 9.

F. 34

has been dismissed off and the divine protection has come on her. She is not available on this earth while the cloud of curse is dispersed and dissipated. King Duṣyanta has gathered himself comprehensively. We can easily imagine the emotion of unrest, grief and repentence vulcaniṣing in the heart of the hero. The arguments that he repudiated are now not only approved of by him but he regrets of creating an opportunity for such gross arguments on behalf of Śakuntalā. Śakuntalā was right, disciple Śārngarava was right and so was the lady Gautamī. They jointly forbore the afronts of the king but now the shaft of "be off" has fled off it cannot be withdrawn and the intricacies of anxiety are all the more severe as she bore in her an embroy that was destined to be the legitimate successor of the king who had made the indiscrete use of his acute shaft. As it is "Harm watch harm catch," the royal husband has used an acute shaft for his legitimato wife, now let him have another of the same form of his own. Ready is the royal bosom to clasp once more the abundant heart. But nature is not a kind mistress her ordeals are severe and he must undergo penalties that will outway his maltreatment to the ligitimate wife. Let him count her tears, let his heart be moistened with it, let the fire of remorse burn there in. The sun of rememberance has risen up now. Kālidāsa is after all a sentimental writer, he cannot venture, and he shall not venture to leave off the two spouse perpetually in their unrest. They will be restored to that period of enjoyment undoubtedly. We must be assured of it. It is merely a temporary poetic sport of our benign poet as, "न विना विप्रयोगेण शृङ्गारः पुष्टिमश्नुते"

यो हनिष्यति वध्यं त्वां रक्ष्यं रक्षति च द्विजम्।
हंसो हि क्षीरमादत्ते तन्मिश्रा वर्जयत्यपः[28]॥

---

[28] VI. 28

King Duṣyanta is absorbed in his thought forms over Śakuntalā or in the words of the Vidūṣaka we may call him bedridden with "Śakuntalā disease." He little knows that his chaste wife has delivered a son that would be his natural heir apparant and that the boy and the mother are safe in celestical regions. Despondence, defection, disappointment, grief, repentence, and anxiety with all other pathological evils have possessed him. The guardians of Śakuntalā cannot stoop so low as to request him again for admitting her in his harem. It may be partly due also to the fact that they are afraid their prayer may be rejected and it is so. But it is not so. Being heavenly beings those divine residence must have known how the vail of ignorance has now been removed and the king's love has once again being unveiled. So at this critical state the poet has to check out some path. A compromise must be effected without hampering the honour of any party and Indra the celestial Lord is selected and he kills two birds with one stone. The Charioteer Mātali is deputed and he comes direct into the royal premises to take the king for some heavenly warfare with the demons. But he finds the circumstances quite adverse to the martial spirit that he wants in the king. To create that spirit in the king afresh he throttles the Vidūṣaka who is a pet friend of the king. At this psychological moment and on this incident the Vidūṣaka raises a cry for help and on his cry the king sends forth his shaft at random consecrating it with his mental force. He vests the arrow with full power for killing one who would be attacking his friend, the Vidūṣaka. But at the same time loads it with the responsibility of sparing itself from misuse. This bold step recommends the king's equipment with military training and his knowledge of science of warfare. He was not only a passionate lover but equally a dauntless warrior even when appearing against the demons. The most striking

feature that we find here is the poet's tact for managing the plot for a personal interview between the two spouses. Śakuntalā was a daughter of the celestial nymph Menakā and these nymphs are naturally creatures of Indra, so by inviting king Duṣyanta he is killing two birds with one stone.

Proceedings of the Foundation Stone Laying Ceremony of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute held on Tuesday, February 13, 1945

The Foundation Stone of the buildings of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute was laid by His Excellency Sir Maurice G. Hallett, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.C.S., LL.D., Governor of the United Provinces on the North East corner of the Alfred Park in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering on Tuesday, February 13, 1945 at 11. 30. A.M. The function took place in a large and spacious Shamiana. In the unavoidable absence of the President of the Institute, the rt. hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, P.C., K.C.S.I., D. C.L., LL.D., the Vice-President Dr. Amaranatha Jha, M.A., D.Litt., F.R.S.L., the Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University presided over the function.

His Excellency the Governor arrived punctually and was received by the Vice-President who introduced to him the members of the Executive Committee of the Institute. His Excellency was then conducted to the Dais and was garlanded by Professor A. Siddiqi, M.A., Ph.D., Treasurer of the Institute. The proceedings commenced with Vedic Mantras recited by three Pandits, followed by a prayer from the Holy Quoran recited by Maulana S. Muhammad Ali Nami.

Thereafter the Secretary, Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Umesha Mishra, M.A., D.Litt., read the following report:

Mahamahopadhyaya Sir Ganganatha Jha died on November 10, 1941. Shortly afterwards, his numerous pupils and admirers felt that his memory should be perpetuated in a fitting manner. Encouragement came through a generous offer made by the hon. Maharajadhiraj Sir Kameshwara Singh Bahadur of Darbhanga to donate Rs. 25,000 as a nucleus for a Memorial Fund; this was added to by donations from Sir Padampat Singhania, His Highness the Maharaja

of Tehri-Garhwal, Mr. H.G. Misra, and the Raja of Korea. Accordingly, a Memorial Committee was formed with the rt. hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as President and an appeal for funds was issued under the signature of over fifty eminent scholars and public men including amongst others Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the hon. Mr. M.S. Aney, the rt. hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the rt. hon. V.S. Srinivasa Sastri, Dr. Bhagwan Das, Sir P.S. Sivaswami Aiyar, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, the Raja of Chettinad, Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, the hon. Raja Sir Maharaj Singh, Dr. Panna Lall, the hon. Dr. Hirdaya Nath Kunzru, Raja Jagannatha Baksh Singh, Mm. Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya, Mm. P.V. Kane, Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Rao Raja Dr. Shyam Bihari Mishra, Dr. S.K. Chatterji, Kumar Gangananda Singh, Dr. N. P. Asthana, Principal J.R. Gharpure. The appeal met with a ·sympathetic response.

It was felt that the most appropriate shape which the memorial could take was an Oriental Research Institute and that the earliest opportunity should be taken to start the work. Thus, on the second death anniversary of the late Dr. Ganganatha Jha, the 17th of November, 1943 the inauguration of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute was performed by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The authorities of the Hindu Boarding House have been kind enough to house the Institute until it has got a building of its own. Dr. Jha's valuable library of books and manuscripts was presented to the Institute by his sons. Through various other sources the Institute has received a fairly large collection of books and manuscripts. The Government of the United Provinces, the Government of Baroda, the Universities of Calcutta and Annamalai and other non-official bodies have kindly promised to present all their Sanskrit publications to the Institute. So the Institute has at present in its Library several thousands of books and manuscripts including a hundred Persian manuscripts.

Though perhaps the youngest in the field, the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute has at present over one hundred regular members including Mm. Pandit Gopinatha Kaviraj (Benares), Sir S. Radhakrishnan (Benares), Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar (Madras), Professor Muhammad Shafi (Lahore), Dr. Bhagwan Das (Benares), Dr. B.C. Law (Calcutta), Dr. F.W. Thomas (Oxford), Professor Franklin Edgerton (America) and Maulvi Sayyid Sulaiman Nadvi (Azamgarh).

Since the Inauguration Ceremony, our collection has gone over Rs. 1,20,000. Prominent donors are His Highness the Maharana of Udaipur, Lala Ramanand, Lala Kailashpat Singhania, Seth Baijanatha Bhagat, Beni Madho, Lala Ram Ratan Gupta, Dr. B.C. Law, Lt. Col. Suberan Sumsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Sir C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Messrs. Chathuram Horilram, Kamiyar Estate, Sir Dorabji Tata Trust, and Bharatendu Estate, Pt. Ravaneshwar Mishra and Seth Hari Ram.

It is gratifying to note here that the Government of India has entrusted the publication of its Sanskrit letters preserved in the Imperial Records Department to the Institute, a recognition which has been extended so far only to the well reputed universities of the country.

The Institute is now a registered body under the Societies' Registration Act XXI of 1860. We are deeply grateful to His Excellency the Governor of the United Provinces for giving the Institute this plot of land which is about one and a half acre in area and where His Excellency will just graciously be pleased to lay the Foundation Stone of the proposed building.

The Institute started the publication of a Quarterly Research Journal in November 1943 under the editorship of Professor R.D. Ranade, Head of the Philosophy Department, Allahabad University, Dr. A. Siddiqi, Head of the Arabic-Persian Department, Allahabad University and myself.

It has entered on its second year and it is gratifying that during this very short period it has established its reputation and has secured a high position amongst Oriental Journals. It has attracted Oriental Scholars and Institutions even from abroad. Almost all the Oriental Journals including the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland have placed this Journal on their exchange list.

The Institute which has thus been started at Allahabad will really be a nucleus for higher research work in the field of classical Oriental scholarship in these Provinces where there was none so far. It will undertake, encourage and foster research and investigation in Sanskrit and other classical oriental languages. It aims at maintaining an up-to-date library consisting of oriental publications and as big a collection of manuscripts as possible. It will arrange papers, lectures, conferences, discussions on language, literature and culture. It will publish original texts and other works including translations, journals and bibliographies. It will make provision for scholarships and stipends for research scholars and hope to engage full-time salaried scholars and research students for carrying researches on scientific lines. It will foster the traditional scholarship of the land and also use the methods of modern oriental investgation.

Such an Institute will, we feel, be the best memorial in honour of one who combined in himself the depth and soundness of the Pandit and the breadth of outlook and liberalism of the modern scholar. Sir Ganganatha Jha's own field of researches covered a very wide area. His work included literature, law, religion, and various schools of philosohpy. He had the highest regard for all forms of learning. It is our hope that those who work in for this Institute will be inspired by his high ideals.

The future of the Institute seems to us very bright in the hands of its present members of the Executive

Committee which include the rt. hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as President, Sir S. Radhakrishnan and Dr. Amaranatha Jha as Vice-;Presidents, Dr. A. Siddiqi as Treasurer, Professor R.D. Ranade and Ishwari Prasad, Dr. Tara Chand, Sir Padampat Singhania, Rai Bahadur Bhagawati Saran Singh, Pandit K. Chattopadhyaya as members and myself as Secretary. Under the inspiring leadership of our President we are confident that the Institute will receive wide support.

We are exceedingly grateful to His Excellency the Governor for his keen and sympathetic interest in the activities of this Institute. It is our good fortune that His Excellency has been able to find time for this function.

With these few words I place before you, Sir, an account of what the Institute has done, the hopes it entertains, the aims it seeks to achieve, and the high ideals it cherishes. We hope that this Institute will materially add to the store of learning and will become a true centre of inspiration and light to all seekers after true knowledge.

After the Secretary has finished his report the Vice-President Dr. Amaranatha Jha, said: Your Excellency first of all, may I convey to you the regret of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, President of the Memorial Committee, for his inability to be present with us this morning owing to professional work. I have no doubt that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is as much disappointed at his unavoidable absence as all of us are.

On behalf of the Memorial Committee I express our warm thanks to you for the consistent interest you have been good enough to show in the work of the Research Institute. As the Secretary has reminded us, it is a very young institution, but it has begun well and we are hopeful that in course of time it will develop into one of the major centres of classical research in the country. (Applause.) I remember

that I spoke in support of classical education and desired that more emphasis should be placed on the cultivation of the classical temper in my convocation address to the Patna University six years ago. Your Excellency as Chancellor of that University at that time told me that you yourself had received classical education at Oxford. I am sure that that bias which your education received is responsible to a certain extent for the interest which you have been good enough to show in our Institute. There is a risk, these days, of classical scholarship receding into the background and education of a mere material character usurping the place which the classics used to occupy at one time. We have all heard of various schemes that are under contemplation for the post-war world. It is good that most of these schemes are concerned with the growth of technical education and with the providing of facilities for it in our country, but I think too that it would be a sad day if these branches of education that stand for pure culture should either languish or suffer for want of popular or Government support.

We propose in this Institute with such resources as we may be able to possess to do our best to conserve the traditional learning of the land. We hope that this Institute will be a centre where oriental languages generally and Sanskrit in particular will be studied both along traditional lines and in the spirit of modern research. We have made a beginning in starting a quarterly journal. We have great ambitions. It is our hope that with the active encouragement of His Excellency's Government and with the support of public benefactors our task will be made easy so far as our finances are concerned. Your Excellency must be tired of listening to appeals and prayers for financial assistance. Wherever you go you are asked to make grants to more or less deserving institutions. I hope Your Excellency is satisfied that ours is a deserving institution. (Laughter and cheers.)

We hope to foster in this Institute the classical spirit, which means not only love of truth and candour but also moderation and balance: We hope that in the years of stress we shall not be forced to forget that which is boundless, endless and sublime. (Loud applause.)

His Excellency before laying the Foundation Stone made the following speech :—

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, MEMBERS OF THE GANGANATHA JHA MEMORIAL COMMITTEE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

I DEEM it an honour to be invited here today and to be associated with this memorial to that great scholar, the late Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha. His work as a philosopher and Sanskrit scholar was acknowledged the whole world over. But it was not only his scholarship that won him fame and respect. There are many of you present who had the good fortune to know him intimately and so are able to testify to his sterling qualities, his upright character and his simple way of life. In him was combined a respect for and an adherence to the old ways of life, tempered with the liberal, scientfic attitude of the modern research worker: a happy combination which many may well envy in these days of bitter strife and hard materialism.

But there is another yet more persona reason why I deem it an honour indeed and pleasure to take part in this ceremony. Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha was by birth a Bihari and that province, for which I still keep a sincere affection, may well be proud of so distinguished a. son. That they are proud of him is shown by the fact that my friend the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga heads the list of subscribers to this Institute with a generous donation of Rs. 25,000. But though Bihar was the province of his birth, the United Provinces may be said to be the province of his adoption: he was a student at Benares I believe in his early years but

the best part of his life was spent here in the city of Allahabad as Professor of Sanskrit of the Muir Central College and as Vice-Chancellor of this University; it was here that he spent his last years and here that he died in November, 1941. But Dr. Jha belonged not to any particular province but to India as a whole; indeed, his reputation as a Sanskrit scholar spread far beyond the confines of this country and it is most appropriate that his memory will be commemorated here in the city and University to which he was so devoted by the institution of a Research Institute to carry on the work that he began.

Sir Ganganatha Jha was one of the early Indian scholars of Sanskrit to apply modern research methods in the examination of ancient manuscripts. I am not competent to discuss this subject and can merely pay tribute to the pioneer work which he did. He also amassed a valuable collection of books, dealing with his particular subjects, Philosophy and Sanskrit. The intention is that this library, of which his sons have generously made a gift, should be housed in this Research Institute and should be available, along with other books which are being collected, to students and research workers. The latter are to be given every encouragement to follow the path marked out for them by the late Sir Ganganatha.

During these five years of war, culture and scholarship have been inevitably neglected; we think of the present and the future and we are at times apt to forget that we can learn much from the past; we may not be able to learn from a study of the past how to build aeroplanes or tanks; we may not be able even to learn how to improve our methods of agriculture in carrying out our grow-more-food campaign. But important though these materialistic problems are, there is another side of life, the spiritual side, which is of equal, if not greater, importance. It is to this side of life that the student of philosophy devotes attention and the world would

be the poorer if we did not have great men like Sir Ganganatha Jha to study the words of wisdom left by philosophers and religious teachers of old and to make their teachings available to the rising generation. The world may change materially, but the spirit of man does not change and there must be much wisdom that is buried away in the books and documents that still exist in many private homes, temples, libraries and possibly also in Government record rooms.

I have just returned from a visit to Bhopal, where by the courtesy of His Highness the Nawab Ruler, I was shown round the ancient Stupas of Sanchi which have been unearthed and reconstructed through the efforts of archaeologists. Those who are knowledgeable in such matters tell me that valuable information has been garnered from the Brahmani inscriptions on certain pillars, one of which is of that great administrator and law-giver of ancient times, Asoka. I understand that there are a number of similar places in many parts of the country which await the attention of archaeologists and those well versed in the ancient writings of India. I foresee for this Research Institute a vast field to work in and a big body of students to be trained in the correct appreciation and interpretation of the treasures of ancient learning that still lie buried in India.

Those who are responsible for this venture have a difficult task ahead of them, for it is no easy matter to lay the foundations of an institute such as this. Public opinion has to be canvassed. Money has to be obtained, and men with the true spirit of research and learning must be found to guide the course of the Institute and to pass on this spirit to students who will work under their direction. The cause is a worthy one and I am sure it will enlist general sympathy. In laying the foundation-stone well and truly this morning, I hope that this will be symbolical of the way in which the Committee will lay a solid foundation for the future successful

working of the Institute, on the lines which would have been approved by Sir Ganganatha Jha himself.

Threafter accompanied by Dr. Amaranatha Jha, the Vice-President, Dr. Umesha Mishra, the Secretary, Mr. C.S. Venkatachar, the Commissioner of Allahabad, His Excellency left the Shamiana and laid the Foundation-stone of the Institute amidst cheers. While laying the Foundation-stone His Excellency said—" I declare the stone well and truly laid. May the Institute be worthy of Sir Ganganatha Jha."

After this the Governor inspected the site and then the function came to an end.

Amongst those who sent their good wishes are:

1. *Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.* In the course of his letter, the Honorary Secretary says:
" On behalf of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute I have very great pleasure in sending to the President and the Members of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute our warmest greetings and best wishes on the occasion of the Foundation Laying Ceremony of that Institute to be performed at Allahabad on 13th February 1945 at the hands of His Excellency the Governor of the United Provinces."

2. *Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*: " Wish every success to function and bright future to Institute."

3. *Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona*: " The Director and Staff of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona....wish the function a great success and express their hope that the Institute, the foundations of which have already been laid in the hearts of so many scholars in India, will now be truly and well laid in a concrete shape and will continue to attract the best scholars in India and abroad under the auspices of an Institute designed to commemorate so illustrious a name."

4. *The Adyar Library, Madras*: " The Adyar Library has great pleasure in sending its most cordial greetings to

the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute on the occasion of the Foundation-Stone laying ceremony of the Institute. We hope and pray that the Institute may continue to grow in strength and usefulness."

5. *Research and Postgraduate Department, Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad*: "The Director......congratulates the workers on their rapid success and expresses a wish that the Institute may become worthy of the great name that it bears."

6. *The Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain*: "....Send my sincerest good wishes for a bright and prosperous future of the Institute, which bears so illustrious a name."

7. *Greater India Society, Calcutta*: "The Greater India Society extends its best wishes for the complete success of function."

Messages wishing success were also received from the hon. Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga; H. H. the Maharana of Udaipur; Sir. S. Radhakrishnan; hon. Sir J.P. Srivastava (New Delhi); hon. Mr. M.S. Aney (Colombo); hon. Sir Syed Sultan Ahmed (New Delhi); Mr. B.K. Gokhale C.I.E., I.C.S., Adviser to the Governor, Orissa; Babu Chandeshwara Prasad Narain Singh, Vice-Chancellor, Patna University; Dr. S.N. Sen, Director of Archives, New Delhi; Professor N.A. Gore, Ponna; Professor G.H. Bhatta, Baroda; The Ruler of Korea State; Dr. Panna Lall; Principal J.R. Gharpure, Poona; Principal, Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Vizianagram; Dr. B.C. Law, Calcutta; hon. Sir Sita Ram, Meerut; hon. Mr. M.Ct.M. Chidambaram Chettyar, Madras; Professor Muhammad Shafi, Lahore; Kumar Gangananda Singh and many others.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

RIGVEDIC CULTURE OF THE PRE-HISTORIC INDUS, VOLS. I & II: By Swami Sankarananda, with a Foreword by Dr. Bhu- pendra Nath Dutta, M. A., Ph.D., (Hamburg). Rama-Krishna Vedanta Math (Publication Department), 19 B, Raja Rajkrishna Street, Calcutta. xliii + 102 ; li + 140, 1944. Price Rs. 4-8 + Rs. 10.

These two volumes record the product of the author's original researches in the culture of the people inhabiting the old forgotten cities situated in the Indus Valley. The author tries to establish the Ṛgvedic origin of the pre-historic Indus civilisation. The book is mainly devoted to the explanation of religious symbols found during the ex-cavations of Mahenjo-Daro and Harappa. The author also discusses the meaning of the word '*Aśva*,' and holds that the primary meaning of the word was the Sun, while the literal meaning is "that which does not stay even till tomorrow." There are many interesting facts noted down from original sources. However, the first book is divided into six chapters :—Deserted city, Symbol of Siva, Unicorn, Mother, The Serpents and Sylvan deities. The second book deals with still more important and interest-ing topics in five chapters : The Vedas, the Tantras (the script), the Tantric deities and their relation with the Vedic gods, Egyptian, Hieroglyphics and an Appendix giving the original meaning of the word Aśvamedha. He does not believe that a horse was ever sacrificed.

A new theory about the date of the civilisation has been advanced on the authority of Vedic texts and the Sum-erian synchronism of the Indus civilisation suggested by

F. Mackay has been refuted. The theory of Kalpa is very interesting. Among the religious symbols, Sir John Marshall's phallic triad has been fully discussed and the conclusion arrived at is that the Śiva-liṅga is not the phallus. It is the symbol of the imagery tree over which the Sun was supposed to rise in the morning. The Sun in the allegorical Hindu literature was thought as a flower blcoming in the sky on some tree whose root is above and the branches below. This tree is variously called Aśvattha, Vilva, Audumbara, etc. All these names signify that it is the sky tree and the modern Śiva-liṅga is its symbol. The Tanrtic worship and the Cult of Śakti were unknown to the people of the Indus cities. The serpent theory has been fully discussed and it is proved that the serpent represents a Vedic deity.

All these theories have been discussed most authoritatively and Swami Sankaranandaji has challenged the various old views of the Western thinkers. His views are orthodox in outlook. His Tantric code to decipher some of the Egyptian hieroglyphics is very peculiar and it is difficult to be convinced of its correctness easily. He wants to link the later Tantric Cult to the ancient Vedic civilisation. He has offered altogether a new interpretation of the Archaeological finds at Mahenjo-Daro and Harappa which needs further investigation.

However, the bcok is very interesting and it is possible that the line of informative thinking adopted by the Swamiji may lead to some more remarkable results. We are very grateful to him for placing his views before the scholars and provoking their thoughts. The author deserves our congratulation and encouragement for further researches. The book is so interesting and useful that no student of Hindu culture and civilisation can do without it.

MUDRĀ-RĀKṢASA OR THE SIGNET RING: By Viśākha-Datta, a play in seven Acts. Translated into English from the original Sanskrit by Ranjit Sitaram Pandit New Book Company, 188-90, Hornby Road, Bombay, 1944. Pages xvii + 277. Price Rs. 12.

We are all familiar with the name of our late R. S. Pandit. He was not only a great nationalist but also a good Sanskritist. He flourished in a Pandit family renowned for traditional scholarship. Mr. R. S. Pandit's remarkable translation of the historical Sanskrit work—*Rājataraṅgiṇī* (River of kings) is well-known to all. This is his another attempt to place before the scholars, unable to read the original text, the rich treasures of Sanskrit literature. There have been translations and editions of the the play before him, but they are not so critical and accurate in many cases. The spirit of the drama is not found maintained in them.

The Mudrā-Rākṣasa is one of the well-known dramas in Sanskrit literature. Mr. Pandit holds that the play was written about 400 A.C. and that Viśākhadatta flourished in the golden age of the Maurya period. The play was probably first produced at Pāṭaliputra at the court of Candra-Gupta II (375-413 A.C.). It deals with the story of the foundation of the Mauryan Empire by the Emperor Candragupta.

Mr. Pandit did a great service by translating this drama into English. It is literal and omits nothing. It closely follows the text both in the prose and the lyrical passages, though it is a fact that the charm and beauty of the original cannot be appreciated in the translation. The translator has taken great pains to verify the correctness of the readings before translating the play.

Besides the English translation, the edition consists of useful introduction and most important Appendices. They deal with the origin of Sanskrit drama in all its

aspects ; a short note on Pātaliputra ; Viśākhadatta and the age of the Guptas; the Nandas, the Maurya and Cāṇakya and Iranian, Greek and Chinese contacts with India. The author also adds critical notes on different readings and important words and expressions of the text.

These Appendices are indeed very well written and are most useful for the proper understanding of the play. The translator has put the orientalists under a deap sense of gratitude by this fine contribution. We are sorry to lose his physical existence so early, though in spirit he is ever with us. It is well-said—कीर्त्तिर्यस्य स जीवति.

CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS : (1) Alphabetical Index of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Adyar Library : By Pandit V. Krishnamacharya ; The Adyar Library, 1944. Pages 210. Price Rs. 10. (2) Catalogue of the Anup Sanskrit Library : Prepared by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja and K. Madhava Krishna Sarma, Bikaner, 1944. (3) A descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Vangiya Sahitya Parishat : By Chintaharan Chakravarti, Krishnagar College, Navadip, Bengal. Published by Vangiya Sahitya Parishat, 243—1, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Pages 270. Price Rs. 6-4. 1935.

Manuscripts are our most valuable treasures. Even now there are innumerable number of manuscripts lying scattered all over the country. Most of them are in bad condition and there is a danger of their being soon destroyed. It is the duty of every one of us to make our best efforts to collect these and place them in place of safety. Efforts are being made in certain places towards this, but still there is a vast field for this work. In order to achieve success in this both men and money are needed. It is very gratifying to see that the need of a scientific classification of these MSS is being realised more and more

every day. Several institutions have taken up this work in right earnest.

(1) The Adyar Library is well-known for its fine collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts. It has several rare and important MSS in its collection. Year after year the Library has acquired a large number of MSS either as originals or as transcripts. The authorities have been preparing an exhaustive descriptive catalogue but due to some reason or other such a project could not be finished as yet. But it is also very necessary to provide facilities to scholars regarding the MSS in the Library. Hence, the present volume has been published. It gives barely the name of the work and the subject under which the work comes. After each entry, the names of the important libraries in South India where the manuscript is available are also given.

The volume is divided into two parts: Part one gives the titles in alphabetical order, while the second part gives the list of authors, with their works.

The entire work has been done by the Pandits under the careful guidance of Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. The plan is very good and the whole attempt is quite successful.

(2) Dr. C Kunhan Raja has not only enriched the Adyar Library with his experience and supervision but also has helped other libraries to prepare manuscript catalogues. The Government of Bikaner secured his assistance to reorganise the State Library under his expert direction. The task has been done quite satisfactorily. Dr. Raja's work was made easier by the cooperation of the curator, Pandit K. Madhava Krishna Sarma.

For higher studies it is very necessary to have the descriptive catalogues of manuscripts prepared on scientific lines and we are glad to find that the first attempt of the State Library, Bikaner has been so successful. The present volume contains a list of Vedic manuscripts along with Iti-

hāsa, Purāṇas and a part of the *Bhagavadgītā*. There are hundreds of manuscripts still to be classified and it is hoped that the catalogue of the rest will soon be available to the public. Both the editors and the Minister in charge of Education, who is taking keen interest in the matter, are to be congratulated.

(3) The Vangiya Sahitya Parishat has also in its possession a very good collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts. It has published its descriptive catalogue under the editorship of Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti, who is known as an expert in this science. The present volume notices 1652 MSS. All possible details, though brief, have been given in this catalogue. The critical introduction of the book is very important. It reveals many important points regarding the present collection. The oldest MSS in this collection goes back to the 15th century. Though the editor has tried to make this catalogue quite useful by supplying all possible information, yet there is still a more important task before the editors of Descriptive Catalogues to give a brief survey of the contents of each and every manuscript and all important references found therein.

Mr. Chakravarti's plan is far better than that of others. The Parishat is fortunate enough to secure the services of such an expert for its work. The Parishat has also published a similar edition of the collection of Bengali manuscripts (Vol. I) in its possession edited by Mr. Chakravarti. Both these books are valuable publications.
